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WHAT is the great issue between the major political parties in the coming Presidential campaign? The League of Nations, of course. Dissenters of influence, near-bolters, pause for the pronouncements of the platform and the candidates on this overshadowing issue. Newspaper editorial comment thereon, if laid end to end, would reach to—perhaps only an Einstein can answer. Yet here is the New York *Tribune*, inherently and dyed-in-the-wool Republican, unqualified supporter of the Grand Old Party, affirming editorially that

the truth is, disregarding rhetorical surplusages, the two platforms are much alike touching the League matter. The Republican platform is for an association of nations within the limits of the Constitution, such as our associates will agree to. The San Francisco platform is for a league within the limits of the Constitution, and with such reservations as our allies will accept. The difference, as has been repeatedly noted in these columns, is but microscopic.

Issue? Well, then, the personality of the candidates. Forgetting those 1912 anti-Roosevelt invectives of the Marion *Star*, Harding is "at least the kind of a man who will surround himself with——." Yes, clearly, the difference in the character of the candidates is what counts. And lo! One turns to a full-page cartoon by Jay N. Darling—"Ding," beloved cartoonist of the *Tribune* and moulder of opinion in not less than seventy-nine other newspapers throughout the land—which depicts Harding and Cox as two peas in a pod, with text so proclaiming them.

TO the public at large the advance of 20 per cent in passenger rates, 25 to 40 per cent in freight tariffs, and 50 per cent in Pullman charges, granted to the railways by the Interstate Commerce Commission, will seem an unnecessarily large increase, entailing new and staggering burdens upon the already harassed consumer. Without question the railways are entitled to some increases; the public will be the ultimate loser if equipment and service are allowed to deteriorate to the point where the country can no longer move its crops or distribute its coal. But the people have not been put in possession of information to show what the needed rate advances ought to be, much less to justify the increases just announced. Counting war taxes and other items, passenger travel will be at least twice as expensive under the new dispensation as it was when America went to war three years ago, while living costs have not risen that much in the same period. But, although the public will feel the increased passenger rates most directly, the greatest burden will result from the swollen freight charges, passed on to the consumer in the form of higher prices just when there was a ray of hope that the cost of living, for the present at least, might have reached its peak. Of course the original sin lies in the Esch-Cummins law, with its virtual guaranty of dividends. The public, already bitter at the profiteers, will see the prospect of more secret and unjustifiable raids on its pocketbook in the new railway rates. Nor will its temper be improved by reflecting that whereas the railway employees received only 60 per cent of the advance they asked for, the owners realized their demands practically in full.

WHILE a species of civil war continues to be waged in Ireland—rather one-sidedly, it must be said, since the British troops seem to have little stomach for fighting—talk of compromise has again been revived. Sir Horace Plunkett, whose intentions are of the best but who in reality has little political influence in Ireland, has urged agreement upon a Dominion status as the best solution. Mr. De Valera suggests that the relation which subsists between the United States and Cuba is a good example of the relation which might be established between Great Britain and Ireland, but indignantly rejects the notion of a Dominion status. Mr. Arthur Griffith, acting head of Sinn Fein in Ireland during the absence of Mr. De Valera, issues statements which imply a possibility of Great Britain and Ireland getting together, but only on the basis of recognizing the Irish Republic. On the other hand Mr. Lloyd George, who breathes threatenings and slaughter at one moment and walks softly the next, is definite upon only one point, namely, that under no circumstances will the independence of Ireland be recognized; while Sir Edward Carson, still swaggering about as the consecrated spokesman of Irish Unionism, points to the Irish agitation as a part of anti-British propaganda throughout the world and, of course, charges the Germans with having a hand in it. All this is hardly a hopeful outlook for compromise. The outlook will not improve until the British Government realizes that it is

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not the Germans, or the Bolsheviki, or even the Americans, but its own bad conduct, which is responsible for the odium which is being heaped upon the name of Britain in Ireland and throughout the world. One wonders how long the British people will go on thinking that the Irish question will ever be settled so long as men like Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Carson, or Sir Hamar Greenwood pull the strings of government.

FRENCH statesmen have never relinquished their determination to split the German Empire. The attempt to fan Rhenish resentment of Prussian domination into an active separatist movement having failed, M. Millerand now turns his eyes to Bavaria. The new German Constitution represents a tendency toward administrative centralization. Bavaria has lost its separate army and its separate postal system, and the central government acquires certain rights over taxation which were formerly vested in the constituent States. Naturally there are Bavarians who resent the change. Now, at the very time when Bavaria is losing all independence in foreign policy, M. Millerand announces that he will revive the French Legation at Munich. There will, of course, be no proper diplomatic business for a French official at Munich; his task obviously will be political, an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Germany. The announcement, however, seems to have had an effect contrary to what was intended. It led to the announcement by Dr. Heim, leader of the Bavarian People's Party—the party which has shown most concern for Bavarian independence—that he and his party had no desire to interfere in foreign politics, and that the separation of Bavaria from the empire would be a calamity to Bavaria and to all Germany. It is impossible to avoid the suspicion that the agitation reported from Salzburg for the annexation of Tyrol to Bavaria, Tyrol meanwhile remaining outside the German Empire, is of French inspiration. And it is not uncharacteristic of the perversity of present-day French foreign policy that it finds itself most sympathetic with the German State in which the monarchist movement is strongest.

STREAMS of munitions, generals, colonels, food, supplies, all pouring into Poland—that is the picture which the papers give us of the Polish situation. And out of the other end of the funnel crawl five motor-cars bearing the Polish petitioners for peace across a half-burnt bridge into the mist beyond sight of the correspondents—to the other side of the Bolshevik lines, where newspapermen do not penetrate. We wonder whether the consciousness of the stream of steel flowing into the country behind them will stiffen the petitioners into refusal of the Russian terms, or whether they may be granted the grace to accept defeat and bring peace to Europe. There are dangerous shallows in the stream which is their only hope. The Allied diplomats have money and cannon and ammunition, but they have lost the essential power to win the hearts of men. They have not persuaded the workmen of Trieste or of Danzig to violate their sense of decency by moving ammunition intended to prolong war and kill their Russian fellow-workers. If, at Danzig, the Allied chiefs have replaced the striking dockers by British soldiers, some at least of those soldiers have seen the same strange light and have been clapped into jail for refusing to betray their own consciences. The Allies' war to prolong war is no longer merely a war against the Russians: it bids fair to become a war against the workers of Europe.

THE French Foreign Office announces that Emir Feisal is no longer King of Syria. Despite the pledge by Great Britain and France of an independent Arabia under his rule, despite the fact that he appears to have been the unanimous choice of his people, he is not only deposed but by command of General Gouraud is ordered into exile. The French commander-in-chief has also levied a fine of ten million francs upon the city of Damascus. "Hun" methods these, even in a declared state of war, and fully established as such by public opinion in France and in the United States from 1914 to 1918. What shall we call them in time of peace in the year 1920? Whatever they may be termed from the point of view of international morality, politically they are folly. The sparks are already flying into the Near-Eastern tinderbox. The French, untaught by their Polish fiasco, are now applying a torch which may set all Asia aflame.

BRITISH labor, by an overwhelming vote, has decided against joining the Third Internationale. What got on its nerves was dictation by an outsider and the restriction of personal liberty in Russia. As Lenin writes of England, "even a small communistic party is not existent." The Workers Socialist Federation is Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. She is a Communist. The Socialist Labor Party is J. T. Murphy and Arthur MacManus. It has split. The British Socialist Party is three-sevenths communist, with Gallagher and McLean leading the militant handful. A section in the Independent Labor Party is flirting with communism. A small group of shop stewards are communistic. All told, the Communists of Britain number a few thousand. They are a hardly perceptible influence in British labor. The Communist creed demands acceptance of the soviet system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and adhesion to the Third Internationale. British trade unionists refuse to swallow these assorted doctrines, rigid program, and intellectualistic vocabulary. So the international situation is left in a muddle. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald suggests a way out: "Geneva [the Second Internationale] will really become a consultation; its character as a great authoritative assembly has gone. All the important Socialist parties in Europe have left. They will modify Moscow or they will form a new body. I doubt if Moscow can be modified. I think that the Socialist on the one hand and the Communist on the other must proceed to build their own international house." Yet on the continent at least Moscow seems to have far greater driving force than Geneva.

THE ordinary consumer looks at the high cost of living and the present industrial system as two phenomena quite detached and unrelated. The radical is likely to look upon the former as the inevitable result of the latter. An attempt to show which view is right will presently be made on a small scale by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, which has announced the completion of plans for setting up factories and stores for the cooperative manufacture and sale of women's clothing. The union is raising $500,000 by tax and by appropriation to start the new venture, and two factories will soon be opened in New York to supply stores in half a dozen cities. An article in the New York *Times* quotes Mr. Schlesinger, president of the union, as urging the need, for the workers as well as for the public, of a reduction in prices. Present prices and the slump in buying are resulting in shorter seasons and un-

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employment. "In fact," said Mr. Schlesinger, "our workers suffer through this situation in a double way; they have less work and in addition have to face the terrible cost of living." This is the opportunist view of the matter: more fundamental reasons were put forward by the special committee which presented to the recent convention of the union the proposal for union-owned factories and stores:

> Practical knowledge of operating factories in our industries will help us considerably in our disputes with manufacturers in the various contentions with regard to wages, hours, etc., based on practical experience attained through the operation of such shops. . . . Union-owned shops will supply the market with merchandise required in time of strikes against arbitrary employers, and will give employment to a great number of our workers in times of lock-outs. . . . The union-owned shop will be the first step toward collective ownership. Union-owned shops will enable the workers to take part in the management of such shops. . . . The union shop will demonstrate to the working class and the entire world that the producers themselves can, and logically should, take the place of the present so-called captains of industry in our system.

THE mind of the returned soldier is a different mind from that of the civilian. It prefers facts to opinions, demands investigations instead of pious resolutions. It is challenging, realistic, irreverent. It was illustrated in England by the presence of R. H. Tawney on the Coal Industry Commission. This young soldier helped to force the civilian coal owners to reveal their profits in war time. He was proud of their patriotism, their resolute words of advice for the boys at the front, but he insisted on knowing what great business men had been doing. One feels a little of the same gentle insistence in the Steel Report summaries of Captain Heber Blankenhorn. He came to the making of the report from service in France. He knew hundreds of the A. E. F. by daily contact. He saw conditions in northern France at first hand. He studied the labor movements of two European countries. He returned home with certain questions. The men who have sought to silence his questions—the questions of a returned soldier—are honestly representative of the one hundred per cent civilian mind. To men like Judge Gary, Ralph Easley, the manufacturers, the business executives, there is something wrong with the returned soldier. The Steel Corporation has already found that some of the impulse of revolt against the twelve-hour day came from this group of men. The British soldier was a fine figure of a man in France. When he returned to England, he no longer walked humbly before his masters. Instead, he began to challenge intrenched wrongs. Apparently the returned soldier of America is going to nag the lords of steel into answering a few unanswered questions.

TUBERCULOUS ex-soldiers, patients at Saranac Lake, New York, are on strike. They are refusing to obey the government order which would move them from their "Home Sanatorium" in the Adirondacks to government hospitals elsewhere. They believe—and the consensus of medical opinion is with them—that the Adirondacks are better for tuberculosis than any other place in the East. But, even so, there would probably not have been such a whole-souled opposition if the men had not already been tried past endurance by government neglect, indifference, and inefficiency. The maintenance money which should have come to them through the Public Health Service has not been paid since March. This money is sent direct to the boarding houses where the single men live; and as it has not come, the boarding-house keepers have had to borrow in order to keep their houses open, with the result that food has become poorer in quality and living conditions are unfit. In the case of the married men the non-arrival of the maintenance allowance is a very real hardship. They have broken up their homes in other parts of the country, and have taken cottages or apartments at Saranac Lake in the expectation of being able to live on their allowance plus their war risk insurance. This maintenance money includes, also, a small sum for medical supplies. If a patient buys a $1.25 thermometer—which he may charge against the Public Health Service—the drug store keeper charges seventy-five cents additional as interest for carrying the government account on his books for three or four months. It was, then, the final straw for the government to order the men away to what they are convinced are less healthful places.

IT is to be noted that this is a strike against the government by men on the government pay-roll. Further, it is backed by the American Legion. What is more, the American Legion Committee on Benefits for Disabled Men has been called in and is using its influence in behalf of the strikers. One would think that that influence must be great, since the chairman of the committee is Colonel Cornelius W. Wickersham, "of Wall Street," as they like to call him at the Legion headquarters. That anyone "of Wall Street" should back up a strike is encouraging; that the American Legion should do so is exhilarating. This rabid, red propaganda about the right to strike—the right even of government employees to strike—seems to be bearing strange fruit. We are not disposed to question the human emotions which lie back of this strike, but we wonder if they would have been as intense if the strike—we use the word advisedly and with the authority of the New York *Times*—were an industrial one. Be that as it may, the American Legion has rushed in where the reddest might have feared to tread, and is putting its back into the fight to win a strike against the government.

THE absence of any report from Warsaw during the past three weeks denying the death of Dr. Israel Friedlaender and Dr. Bernard Cantor is profoundly regrettable. The two Americans had been engaged since January in carrying food and medicine to destitute sections of the Jews in Poland and the Ukraine under the auspices of the American Joint Distribution Committee for all Jewish relief funds, and had succeeded in distributing something like a million marks' worth of material when, on July 7, their automobile was held up by three bandits near Yarmolince, in the Ukraine, and they were murdered. Their work, which had necessarily been done without support from the United States Government, was of a particularly heroic kind, and their loss will be distinctly felt, both abroad by the populations which they would have been able to relieve and at home by the world of scholars. Dr. Friedlaender was professor of Biblical literature at the Jewish Theological Seminary and an eminent author and translator. *The Nation* especially regrets his death since he was a frequent and valued reviewer of Jewish books. One of the most recent of his own books, a comprehensive anthology of poems by and about Jews, is a successful attempt to re-create the image of his race and to summarize its aspirations over forty centuries.

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No More Race Discrimination

THE people of California seem determined to raise once more the question of Japanese immigration. Petitions for a law depriving Japanese of the right to hold or lease land in the State, and taking away from Japanese parents the legal guardianship of minor children who have property rights in land, are being circulated, and a referendum vote on the proposed law will be taken at the November election. Governor Stephens, in a letter to Secretary of State Colby made public at the time of the Democratic convention in San Francisco, has called attention to the fact that the Japanese population of California, which amounted to 41,356 in 1910, is now 87,279. He alleges that the existing State law which forbids Japanese aliens to hold land is being evaded, partly by vesting the title in minor children born in the United States, who under the Constitution are citizens but whose legal guardianship it is now proposed the State shall assume, and partly by the formation of dummy corporations controlled by Japanese but with white officials. Some 28,000 acres of land in the State, it is said, are at present owned by Japanese and some 250,000 acres more are leased. Senator Phelan, whose implacable opposition to Japanese immigration on any terms is well known, is reported to be planning to introduce in the next session of Congress a resolution for a Constitutional Amendment which would in the future deny to American-born Japanese the right of citizenship which the Fourteenth Amendment now gives them.

(Governor Stephens, to his credit be it said, recognizes that the question is a national and an international one.) Although his sympathies are plainly with the restrictionists, he is frank enough to admit that the controversy is not one which the State of California can settle for itself. Unfortunately, such is not the general opinion, if indeed it be the majority opinion, of the State. A large and powerful section of the people of California is prepared now, as it has been prepared whenever the question of Japanese restriction has been raised in the past, to take the matter into its own hands and to adopt any kind of a restriction policy it sees fit, Constitutions, laws, treaties, or "gentlemen's agreements" to the contrary notwithstanding. For the sake of ridding the State of a class of persons whose presence it has adjudged undesirable, California is apparently once more making ready to disregard the Federal Constitution, violate international agreements which the United States, in the exercise of its proper constitutional authority, has made, force out the Japanese now in the State and prevent others from entering, and defy the Federal Government to interfere.

The constitutional issue admits of no argument. There is no constitutional warrant for such action regarding the Japanese as the people of California are likely to be asked to take next November, any more than there is for much of the action on the same subject which they have taken or attempted on various occasions in the past. Nor is the statistical argument worthy of serious attention. A State which imagines that a Japanese population of 87,279 in a total population of 3,200,000 threatens the destruction of its social order, or that the control and cultivation by Japanese of 278,000 acres of land out of a total of 18,000,000 or more acres of arable land in the State menaces its economic prosperity, is suffering from a bad case of "nerves." The primary question, and in practice the only one of importance, is that of race antagonism. On this subject California still lives, as some other sections of the country still live, in the dense and heated atmosphere of a bygone time. It assumes without debate that the white race is superior and that all other races are inferior; that people of different races do not mix; that the presence of any appreciable number of aliens with different, and hence presumably lower, standards of living inevitably tends to pull down the standards of citizens whose plane of living is higher; and that racial intermarriage is unthinkable because it is certain to produce a low quality of children. Hence the war-cry, reverberating from the anti-Chinese days of Denis Kearney and the San Francisco sand-lots to the anti-Japanese days of Senator Phelan, "The Japanese must go."

It is time that the American people faced squarely this whole question of race. In the years when nations made much of their so-called sovereignty, and arrogated to themselves such positions in the world as by hook or by crook they were able successfully to assert, there was, perhaps, justification, albeit of a specious kind, for the policies of discrimination or exclusion which they practised in regard to peoples of other races or of inferior strength. There is still justification for excluding from a country aliens who are physically or mentally defective, or who are likely for any reason to swell the ranks of criminals or become a public charge. There is still reason why aliens should not be imported under contract for the clear purpose of displacing citizen wage-earners who are higher paid. But as to other restrictions and discriminations the world has changed. Two of the professed aims of the great war which has just been fought have been the recognition of the right of small nations and racial groups to independence and self-determination, and the union of all peoples in a world league in which the nations should be equal; and while those principles have as yet been honored more in the breach than in the observance, the principles themselves abide.

Now that the question of race is again on the eve of being raised, and in a form in which it cannot well be dodged, the American people should make their position clear. The challenge which California is preparing to throw down should be met as any other disloyal manifestation by a State should be met—by a firm assertion of Federal authority coupled, of course, with a frank recognition of the difficulties of the California situation. With that, however, should go also the adoption of the only rational principle upon which a modern nation can safely stand, namely, the entire abolition of race discrimination. Subject only to the common-sense exceptions which we have mentioned, the United States should throw down the bars. It should make an end of silly and mischievous talk about white superiority, and cease waging social war against resident aliens whose labor is contributing to the nation's wealth. It should cease doing homage to the notion that because the spawn of a Japanese prostitute and an American roustabout of the "Barbary Coast" may be of poor mental or moral quality, all interracial marriages should be prohibited. The perverted sense of national importance which from time immemorial has plunged nations into war is the same which still cherishes racial antagonisms; and the sooner the whole unworthy structure of restrictions is swept away, the better.

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America and the Polish Question

THE United States should lose no time in declaring its position with regard to Poland. Whatever may be thought of the attitude of Great Britain and France toward the Russo-Polish war, the policies of those two countries have at least an element of frankness and directness of which American policy is miserably destitute. The Millerand Government is still, in terms at least, as unalterably opposed as ever to recognition of the Soviet Government unless that Government will agree, among other things, to pay the Russian bonds which were issued under the old regime and which are extensively held in France. In the meantime it goes on giving substantial aid to the Poles and openly champions their cause. Mr. Lloyd George, on the other hand, is willing to go a long way toward recognizing the Russian Government indirectly, and will probably have small scruple about recognizing it directly if he does not have to do so too suddenly, in order if possible to stop the war; for British influence in the East is gravely threatened and Russian propaganda is working successfully everywhere. Hence his advice to Poland to negotiate directly with Moscow, and his anxious desire to bring about some kind of a conference in which Russian representatives will sit.

Meantime the Washington discoverer of the "acid test" for Russia maintains his accustomed silence in regard to Poland. Indirectly, however, the United States has been helping the Poles very much. The Administration began aiding the Polish imperialists as far back as the days of the Peace Conference, when it threw its influence on the side of the Polish reactionaries headed by Roman Dmowski and Paderewski in Europe and Mr. John F. Smulski in this country; incidentally putting under the ban Polish newspapers and Polish societies of opposite persuasion. Last winter the American Red Cross, an organization popularly supposed to exist for strictly neutral relief service only, was credibly reported to have furnished the Polish army with much-needed supplies of shoes, underclothing, overcoats, and mittens. During the present war American aviators, members of the Kosciuszko Flying Squadron, have been serving with the Polish forces, and their exploits in bombing Bolshevik troops have been duly reported in the press.

In the Treasury list of countries to which the United States has extended financial aid in the form of loans or credits, Poland does not appear. This does not mean, however, that tangible aid of other kinds has not been forthcoming. According to an official statement given to the press on July 27, the value of supplies sold to Poland by the War Department prior to the outbreak of the present war aggregated $71,920,111.97. Transactions with the Grain Corporation, the Shipping Board, and the Navy Department, the details of which are not divulged, bring the total indebtedness of Poland to the United States to about $100,000,000. Of the nearly $72,000,000 worth of supplies, $59,365,111.97 represents purchases of American supplies which were disposed of in Europe after the armistice; while the remainder, $12,555,000, is accounted for by sales made directly from the War Department at Washington.

Secretary Baker is quoted as saying that, of the total amount of sales of material abroad, "less than $5,000,000 represents purchases of materials that may be classed as military equipment." Yet the published list shows $20,288,155.42 for clothing and textiles, $13,885,252.62 for subsistence supplies, $13,170,143.93 for transportation equipment, $3,982,340.33 for household furniture, machinery, and metals, $2,713,267.47 for hospital and other supplies, and $795,505.52 for air service equipment and supplies. Secretary Baker would apparently have the American public believe that, aside from the trifling sum of $5,000,000, all of these articles were strictly for civil use. One wonders if the same hair-splitting discrimination assigns to purely civil purposes the $8,616,000 which Poland has contracted to pay in this country for 4,600 railway cars.

Here we have revealed, not in rhetoric but in cold statistics, something of the way in which the Wilson Administration has been helping on an imperialistic war in Europe. There are indications that further aid, moral as well as material, is under consideration. The press dispatches make it clear enough that M. Millerand and Mr. Lloyd George are a good deal at loggerheads over the Polish situation. The French Premier talks as if he were really ready to fight, while the British Premier certainly acts as if he himself were not. The public may rest assured that France will not break with Great Britain, partly because a break would give immense satisfaction to Germany as well as to Russia, and partly because France, when it comes to a European war, is too weak to act alone. For the moment, however, there will be a good deal of manoeuvring for advantage, and the prize to be played for is the cooperation of the United States. The Paris *Temps*, virtually an official organ in matters of foreign policy, points out that in a controversy of this kind the sympathies of the United States ought certainly to be with France. Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at the unveiling of a Lincoln statue, pleads with America to do its duty and come back into the ring.

All this could be dismissed as the familiar diplomatic buncombe were it not for certain suggestive intimations from Washington. Obviously inspired dispatches point out, however, that while the decision rests with Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Wilson has not yet spoken, the fate of Poland is a matter in which the United States may rightfully take a hand because Poland was a creation of the Peace Conference; and although the United States has not ratified the Treaty of Versailles and the other treaties made in France, it still has a vital interest in seeing that the terms agreed upon are carried out. Hence, it is intimated, the United States may not only properly take part in a conference on the Russo-Polish imbroglio if it is asked to do so, but it may demand as of right a seat in such a conference if one is held.

If the United States is to become a party to the settlement of the Polish question, it should do so only on a certain definite basis of policy. The first point in that policy is the full recognition by the Allies and the United States of the Soviet Government in Russia. Unless this is done, nothing else that is done will long make any difference. The second is the definite acceptance by Poland of the boundaries tentatively laid down for it by the Peace Conference, and the observance of those boundaries until such time as they shall be revised. The third is the requirement of reparations from Poland for the injuries which its armies have occasioned in Russia and the Ukraine. If reparations are good for Germany they are good also for Poland. The fourth is the immediate ending of all military aid, direct or indirect, to Poland, and the reduction of the Polish army to a proper peace basis. Not until it is known that these things are to be done will American participation in a Polish settlement be other than a further menace to the peace of the world.

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The *Times*, Associated Press, and New York *Times*

THE damning report on pogroms in Poland made by the British Government commission headed by Sir Stuart Samuel has had a hard time finding daylight in the American press. The report is printed in full in this week's International Relations Section; the strange story of its vicissitudes in the press is as follows: The Samuel Commission was sent to Poland by the British Government to investigate the treatment of Jews; its findings were withheld for months, as debates in the House of Commons revealed, and were finally made public on July 5. The Jewish-language newspapers of New York and other cities published extensive cables referring to it. Despite its sensational and official character, and despite the large Jewish population in the city of New York, the English-language papers of New York City at first printed nothing about the report. The Associated Press sent no dispatch regarding the report. The secretary of the American Jewish Congress, Mr. Bernard G. Richards, thereupon wrote to friends of his connected with two New York City newspapers, which then printed some of the material which he sent them. He also wrote to the Associated Press on July 9 inquiring whether it had received any dispatch on the subject. The superintendent of the Associated Press foreign service, Mr. Charles T. Thompson, replied on July 16 that the Associated Press had received nothing, but that, upon hearing of the interest in the report, he had cabled the London office of the Associated Press, and had "received a summary of it, a copy of which I enclose herewith." This summary, printed in the New York *Times* and other papers, was as follows:

LONDON, July 10.—The report of the mission headed by Sir Stuart Samuel, which was sent by the British Government last September to investigate conditions in Poland, has been published, together with a covering letter by Sir H. Rumbold. It deals largely with the treatment of Jews, which the report says is being "gradually mitigated" and "will abate when peace has been restored and the presence of foreigners in their country will shame the Poles into more civilized treatment of their near neighbors." The report declares that massacres of Jews in Poland were not pogroms, or state-superintended and authorized slaughterings, but were manifestations of popular animus on the part of ignorant men, misled in many instances by men of education. In many cases, the report says, the police participated in acts of aggression against Jews. Sir H. Rumbold's covering letter says that, bad as the condition of Jews in Poland may have been or may still be, it is far better than that in surrounding countries. "Unless all the information on the point is entirely inaccurate," he said, "the massacres of Jews by Ukrainian peasant bands can find in their extent and thoroughness no parallel except in the massacres of Armenians in Turkey."

Sir Stuart's report, as readers of the International Relations Section may note for themselves, did not declare that the treatment of Jews was being "gradually mitigated" or that it would "abate when peace has been restored and the presence of foreigners in their country will shame the Poles into more civilized treatment of their near neighbors." Far from declaring that the "massacres of Jews in Poland were not pogroms," it declared that "the result of my inquiries brought me to the conclusion that the occurrences at Lemberg, Lida, and Vilna come under the head of pogroms in the sense generally understood in England"—which he defined as meaning "excesses organized by the government against a portion of the population, or when the authorities took no steps to restrain those perpetrating the excesses, or intervened at a period too late to be effective in preventing the loss of human life." The phrase "gradually mitigated" is not contained even in Sir Horace Rumbold's covering letter deprecating criticism of the Poles, nor in the separate report filed by one Captain Wright, the only dissenting member of the Commission. None of the quotations in the Associated Press dispatch are from any of these documents.

The New York office of the Associated Press was not responsible for this inaccuracy. It even went so far, on July 26, as to send out a belated but accurate five-hundred-word summary of the Samuel report, based upon a summary given it by a Jewish agency.

But the London correspondent of the Associated Press cannot be excused. The cable from the New York office asking about the Samuel report may have reached him late at night when he was tired. He did not get a copy of the report; he merely looked over his file of the London *Times*. There he found a column about the Samuel report. It was misleading; he was even more so. The *Times* column was carefully worded; it skimmed Sir Stuart Samuel's report, then, without informing the reader that Captain Wright's was a minority report, it dwelt upon his minimizing of the Polish atrocities. It remarked that it was apparent from the report that the treatment of the Jews was being "gradually mitigated." The *Times* gave that as its editorial expression of opinion; the Associated Press correspondent cabled it in quotation marks as the verdict of the Samuel report, which it was not. It was the *Times* which used the phrases which the Associated Press correspondent quoted as those of the report. The *Times* stated—falsely, as we have shown—that the report declared that the massacres of Jews were not pogroms. The Associated Press correspondent, without verifying the statement, passed it on.

When the full text of the Samuel report reached this country, certain Jewish agencies made it available to all the New York newspapers; two of them printed parts of it. All of the papers, however, found space on July 27 for a denial by Prince Lubomirski, the Polish Minister to this country, that the Poles had recently committed excesses against the Jews; the denial was largely an attack upon the Bolsheviki. The New York *Times* printed this Lubomirski statement; it did not print the second and correct Associated Press summary of the Samuel report sent out the same day. The publisher of the *Day*, a Jewish-language newspaper printed in New York, then offered the *Times* an opportunity to print the Samuel report in full. The *Times*, we are informed, refused, denying its news value. The *Day* thereupon paid the *Times* to print the Samuel report as an advertisement.

The New York *Times* is being rather hardly used these days. The *New Republic* has just published a forty-two page supplement which, after describing the *Times* as "one of the really great newspapers of the world," examines its news reports upon the Russian Revolution so effectively as to make one wonder what, in its opinion, constitutes greatness in newspapers. Even the New York *Tribune* editorially exposes the *Times* for altering an editorial from the Boston *Transcript*, apparently to suit its party purposes. Yet we do not believe that the New York *Times*, or the London *Times*, or the Associated Press, differ much from the run of daily newspapers and news agencies in their standards of accuracy and of news collection and selection. We take all our Polish news with a grain of salt.

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MELVIRA GOULD BALDWIN MEMORIAL LIBRARY

The Spy

ONE of the episodes in the report of the commission of the Inter-Church on the steel industry might be called "The Adventures of a Dirty Scrap of Paper." The full report itself will shortly be published in book form by Harcourt, Brace and Howe. There is a touch of the romantic for all Americans in the revelations that the extensive espionage of the late Czar's government, hitherto made familiar to us only through the novel of adventure and the motion picture thriller, is firmly ensconced in our midst. It is to be hoped that steel officials will challenge this section of the report—the work of such conscientious investigators as Captain Heber Blankenhorn and George Soule—in order that the bishops may release still more of the rich documentary proof that they hold. And for what purposes and to what ends was this elaborate and expensive system of espionage erected? To maintain non-unionism, to perpetuate scarcely tolerable hours of labor and low wages, to prevent the legitimate association of free men.

The commission found that maintaining non-unionism entailed for the employers (1) discharging workmen for unionism, (2) blacklists, (3) espionage and the hiring of "labor detective agencies" operatives, (4) strike-breakers.

Maintaining non-unionism entailed, for communities, (1) the abrogation of the right of assembly, the suppression of free speech, and the violation of personal rights (principally in Pennsylvania); (2) the use of State police, State troops, and (in Indiana) of the United States Army; (3) such activities on the part of constituted authorities and of the press and the pulpit as to make the workers believe that these forces oppose labor. In sum, the actually existent state of the steel industry is a state of latent war over rights of organization conceded by public opinion in other civilized countries.

The Report states:

Espionage was of two general classes: spies directly in the employ of the steel companies; and spies hired from professional "labor detective" agencies. The Steel Corporation plants have their own detective forces; one case of hiring outside agencies by a corporation subsidiary became public during the strike. Espionage was of two general characters: spies pure and simple who merely furnished information; and spies who also acted as propagandist strike breakers, mingling with the strikers and whispering that the strike was failing, that the men in other towns had gone back, that the union leaders were crooks, etc. The Monessen "labor file" contained some six hundred daily reports by "under-cover" spies of both characters, mere detectives and strike-breaking propagandists. *These company spy-systems carry right through into the United States Government.*

Federal immigration authorities testified to the Commission that raids and arrests, for "radicalism," etc., were made especially in the Pittsburgh district on the denunciations and secret reports of steel company "under-cover" men, and the prisoners turned over to the Department of Justice. The Monessen "labor file" enabled the student to follow one such paper through to the government. It is given here as offering light upon the question why many working men, especially steel workers, have come to suspect that the Government, *as Government,* has taken sides in industrial warfare; has taken sides against working men.

In this freely offered "file," among the blacklists, detective agency contracts, "under-cover men's" reports, typed letters of big concerns on high grade paper with luxurious letter-heads there was a scrap of dirty paper the size of one's palm. Scribbled on both sides it read exactly as follows:

Charleroi, Pa., Oct. 13, 1919

Dear Sir:

I am an employee of the Pitts Steele Proct of Allenport I went to work last Fri and would like to work so I will give you some names of some Belgian dogs that made it so hard for me and my family I had to quite they are a menace to our country so Please keep there names in mind

Yours truly

Over

Charle Ballue, 209 Shady ave., Charleroi, Pa. Arthur Ballue, Oakland ave between 3 and 4 st Charleroi, Pa. Tony Jarruse, 208 Shady ave Charleroi, Pa. Gus Vanduzene, 312 Shady ave Charleroi, Pa. Albert Balue, 3 st Charleroi, Pa.

Make these suffer as they are making other just now when you start your mills.

The investigator of the file wondered what happened to spiteful scraps of paper in the steel industry. Beside the scrap was a letter as follows:

PITTSBURGH STEEL PRODUCTS COMPANY,
Mill Office, Monessen, Pa., October 15, 1919

M. Wikstrom, Gen'l Supt.
Jas. H. Dunbar,
Ass't to Gen'l Supt.

Messrs: George A. Paff, G. J. Mogan, U. S. Smiley, W. S. Bumbaugh, W. C. Sutherland, J. W. Connery,

Gentlemen:

We are in receipt of an anonymous communication under date of October 13, which reads as follows:

"I am an employee of the Pittsburgh Steel Products Company of Allenport. I went to work last Friday and would like to work, so I will give you some names of some Belgian Dogs that made it so hard for me and my family, I had to quit. They are a menace to our country—so please keep these names in mind when you start your mill.

Charles Ballue, 209 Shady Ave., Charleroi, Pa. Arthur Ballue, between 3d and 4th Sts., Charleroi, Pa. Tony Jarouse, 208 Shady Ave., Charleroi, Pa. (formerly worked in our mill under Check No. 5321). Gus Vanduzen, 312 Shady Ave., Charleroi, Pa. Albert Ballue, 3d St., Charleroi, Pa.

Make these men suffer as they are making me suffer just now when you start your mill."

This is for your information and files.

Yours very truly,
PITTSBURGH STEEL PRODUCTS COMPANY,
(Signed) Malcolm Wikstrom, General Superintendent.

JDH/W

The list at the top of the letter represented every steel concern in Monessen. The promptness with which the list of names was speeded back and forth among the companies was illustrated in another letter in the file, sent out the same day the above was received.

PITTSBURGH STEEL COMPANY,
Mill Office, Monessen, Pa., October 15, 1919

C. J. Mogan, Gen'l Supt.
D. P. King, Ass't Gen'l Supt.
A. Allison, Ass't Gen'l Supt.

Messrs.,

M. Wikstrom, Pgh. Steel Products.
U. S. Smiley, American Sheet & Tin Co.
F. D. Bumbaugh, Monessen Fdry. & Mach. Co.
J. L. Hoffman, Carnegie Steel Co.
G. A. Paff, Page Steel & Wire Co.

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Dear Sirs:

Enclosed is a list of men who are some of the leading agitators in keeping the men from going to work by all kinds of threats.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) C. J. MOGAN,
General Superintendent

CJM/C

Attached to this letter was a copy of the same little list, with one additional name. Of the mills catalogued beneath the letterhead as on the circuit of vital information, two were Corporation subsidiaries—American Sheet & Tin, and Carnegie Steel—the rest "independents." The letters crossed and recrossed, so that the Pittsburgh Steel Products Company officer who started the list out got the same list back from the Pittsburgh Steel Company [another "independent"] the same day. Finally in the file was the carbon of a letter transmitting the same list to the Department of Justice at Washington, asserting that the men named were "leading radicals." From a scrap of dirty paper, rising through stages of typed and embossed letterhead dignity, to those dossiers, marked *"Important*—VERY SECRET," in Government Bureaus in Washington! The circumstances at either end of the chain were not investigated.

The testimony of a Federal officer of long official experience, made at a hearing of the Commission of Inquiry in November in Pittsburgh was:

". . . ninety per cent of all the radicals arrested and taken into custody were reported by one of the large corporations, either of the steel or coal industry. I mean by that, that these corporations are loaded up with what they call 'under-cover' men who must earn their salaries, and they go around and get into these organizations and report the cases to the detectives for the large companies. The detectives in turn report to the chief of police of the city. Generally, the chiefs of police in these small cities around Pittsburgh were placed there by the corporations.

"The corporation orders an organization raided by the police department, the members are taken into custody, thrown into the police station and the department of justice is notified. They send a man to examine them to see if there are any extreme radicals or anarchists among them. They usually let all but a few go. In one instance seventy-nine were taken. The department of justice let all go but three; of those we asked for warrants for two, and at the hearing we made a case against one of them.

"The Steel Corporation has been using every possible endeavor for the last twenty years to fill its mills with foreigners, and to a large extent has done so; then you must see why the foreigner is taking the front of the stage in this conflict. When the large corporations put these foreigners in they thought they had a class of men who wouldn't strike. Now they want to get rid of some of them."

Two extensive labor-detective strike-breaking corporations, with offices in a dozen cities, had a hand in fighting the steel strike. Documents and reports from one of the concerns filled half the Monessen "labor file." Affidavits and documents were obtained from the other, which operated chiefly in the Chicago district. Also in the Monessen "labor file" were the reports furnished by two other "detective" agencies. In the file were the forms of contracts under which these concerns were hired and operate. Their "operatives" reports run from the illiterate scribblings of professional parasites to the most accurate transcriptions of union locals' secret meetings. Interviews with the officers of those strike-breaking concerns gave further insight into the range of their "work" in the steel strike. A subreport furnishes the material for building up a day by day story of the strike in Monessen. The other documents and the interviews show the extent. It is all of a piece and it is the least noble side of the war waged for the "open shop" in steel.

The manager of the detective strike-breaking corporation whose reports and contracts appeared in the Monessen "labor file," when interviewed spoke fairly freely of his concern's views and activities. He had over five hundred "operatives" at work *in the steel strike.* Some of his operatives had been injected into the steel plants a year before. Many of his operatives had become officers of labor unions. He said that there was on the National Strike Committee a labor leader who took his money. He denied that his concern was a mere detective or strike-breaking concern. He used the same arguments as Mr. Gary in explaining why he supported Mr. Gary. He said workmen had a right to organize, but the "open shop" must be preserved. He said that labor unions had rights, but that the unions had fallen into the hands of radical leaders. Like Mr. Gary he denied that he wanted to crush unions. He denied that his operatives were really strikebreakers; though the "labor file" contained full details of his operatives' strike-breaking activities and the following letter:

New York Office, 680 Hudson Terminal.
Chicago Office, 1051 Peoples' Gas Bldg.
Cleveland Office, 1835 Euclid Ave.
Pittsburgh Office, Wabash Bldg.
St. Louis Office, Chemical Bldg.
Cincinnati Office, Union Trust Bldg.
Detroit Office, Book Bldg.

THE CORPORATIONS AUXILLIARY COMPANY
Wabash Building

J. H. Smith, Pres. & Treas.
John Weber, Secy.
D. G. Ross, Gen. Mgr.
H. C. Breton, Res. Mgr.
E. C. Sattley, Gen. Mgr.
Page Steel & Wire Co.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

October 11, 1919.

Dear Sir:

Confirming conversation between your Mr. George A. Paff and the writer on yesterday, we will furnish you as quickly as possible with two Slavish speaking operatives to work along the lines as agreed between the writer and Mr. Paff on yesterday.

This is as per the terms of our regular $225 monthly contract with the usual wage credits of $3.00 per day allowed as per the copy of attached contract, with the exception that it is understood that this service will terminate at the end of 30 days from commencement of same unless otherwise extended.

We wish to thank you very much for this business and will endeavor to make same as valuable to you as possible and trust that it will be instrumental in having the morale of your foreign strikers broken.

We will thank you very much for your cooperation in the handling of this service and will appreciate your calling upon us at any time we can be of special service to you.

Yours very truly,
THE CORPORATION AUXILIARY COMPANY,
By (Signed) S. Dewson,
Resident Manager.

B-W: P-11

No other country in the world has such large wide-spread, well-financed, strike-breaking corporations, making money out of "labor trouble" as America. Nor was it the custom of certain strike-breaking concerns to wait for "labor trouble." When business was slack they made "trouble." The sub-report details, from affidavits of former operatives, how certain concerns provoked strikes in peaceful shops in the past to create "business," set union to fighting union, organized unions in order to be called in to break the unions. They bled both sides; and the Federal Government files contained their patriotic reports. In the Chicago-Gary district one such great strike-breaking concern became so active in the steel strike that its offices were raided and one of its officers was indicted for "intent to create riots" and for intent to "kill and murder divers large numbers of persons." This officer after five months had still not been brought to trial. A sample of the riot-inciting instructions

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given to this concern's operatives in the South Chicago steel mills follows:

A 563-D October 2, 1919.
Rep.———
Dear Sir:

We have talked to you and instructed you. We want you to stir up as much bad feeling as you possibly can between the Serbians and Italians. Spread data among the Serbians that the Italians are going back to work. Call up every question you can in reference to racial hatred between these two nationalities; make them realize to the fullest extent that far better results would be accomplished if they will go back to work. Urge them to go back to work or the Italians will get their jobs.

Daily Maxima—Sent to every representative today:

Conserve your forces on a set point—begin before the other fellow starts. Remail.

This operative's duties, according to *The New Majority* (November 11, 1919), were as follows:

"He was assigned to the client whose code was A 536 D, the number appearing at the top of the Italian-Serbian letter. This code means the South Chicago plant of the Illinois Steel Company. Then he received the regular course of instruction given "representatives." He was told to move around among the strikers and get them to go back to work. He was told to go to Indiana Harbor, Ind., and get strikers from the Inland Steel Company plant there to go to South Chicago and go to work as strike-breakers for the Illinois Steel Company. He was told to go to the vicinity of employment agencies and get strike-breakers and to take them into the plant by automobile or otherwise, at night. He was also instructed to move around among the strikers for the purpose of reporting what conversations he heard, as well as urging them to go to work. He was given a union card in a local of one of the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and told to use it to pass himself off as a union man."

The Illinois Steel Company is the Steel Corporation's biggest Western subsidiary. Its president, Mr. Buffington, declared to the Commission of Inquiry that the first he had heard of the matter was when he saw it in the Chicago papers; that the Illinois Steel Co. did not hire this strike-breaking concern; that he was "confident that at the trial no evidence involving the Illinois Steel Co. would be brought out." The manager of the strike-breaking concern, with offices in the same building as Mr. Buffington, declared to Commission investigators that their operatives were hired by the Illinois Steel Co.

Meanwhile the raided concern was defending itself in page advertisements in papers in many cities as follows:

WHY IS SHERMAN SERVICE BEING ATTACKED?

Sherman Service is a national institution composed of men and women who have made Industrial Relationship their life work. . . .

They cause the employer (their client) to recognize and practice the basic principles of "square dealing" in his relations with his employees. A spirit of sympathetic understanding follows—the result is harmony, cooperation, maximum production, high quality, and lessened waste.

The community, which comprises both employee and employer and invested capital, is able, through such harmonious and productive relationship, to provide the greatest opportunities afforded under our free form of government, to the advantage of all agreeably concerned. Amerizanization, in its fullest sense, is made possible and does follow; our national structure is preserved and enforced, and we are all better off for it.

SHERMAN SERVICE, INC.

John Francis Sherman, Chairman Executive Board New York City, Boston, St. Louis, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, New Haven, Providence, Detroit, Toronto.

Postscript: Sherman Service is not a detective agency. It renders no detective service of any description whatsoever.

Concerning the last line, investigators noted that the Sherman Service Co. was elsewhere carrying on suit in court to protect its "rights as a detective agency." According to the private "house organ" of this concern it also serves the government; for this purpose its operatives become "apparent reds."

"Wherever such organizations exist in the community and try to influence the workers it becomes the duty of the Sherman representatives to pretend sympathy and join so as to learn who the leaders are. Such information is then supplied to the government."

The reach of the industrial spy system and the reliance placed on it were brought home to the Commission of Inquiry by the spy report on the Commission which was sent to Mr. Gary. It has been referred to before; the Commission in November read the report, knew that it was being distributed in the territory of the Steel Corporation's plants, and disregarded so amusingly false a document; in December when the Commission made its effort to settle the strike, Mr. Gary exhibited it and cross-examined the Commissioners on its charges. Some one had set a spy on the Commission and on the Interchurch World Movement. The anonymous "special report" was dated November 12. The Commission's first interview with Mr. Gary had been on November 10. The "special report" names (mispelling the names) some of the Commission's investigators, names others as investigators who were not, and calls all named "radicals," "members of the I. W. W.," "Reds," and "active in the organization known as the People's Print . . . formerly known as the People's Peace Council, better known as the National Civil Liberties League." No statement made about the investigators was true. The capacity of the spy and the purposes of the persons who hired him are indicated in the following excerpt:

"In fact none of these people that are now here in Pittsburgh investigating for this Church movement should be told anything at all, nor should they be allowed to get any information from the Mills in any manner. After paying a visit to their offices in New York and talking to a large number of the officials there I find that this organization should be used to a very good advantage if handled by the right parties. This organization could become a power in both the Industrial Field and the Church Field. There are a large number of the men and women connected with this organization that are known as Pink Tea Socialists and Parlor Reds, and are not considered dangerous. I would suggest that these kind of people be weeded out of the organization. These are the worst kind of Reds to be connected with as they are to a certain extent high up in circles that are hard to reach and they can spread propaganda that hurts the work of others. I found that this organization is now making a canvass for money among the rich and the Corporation in the East, and that they have already had a Committee see Judge Gary, asking for money to carry on their work with. A Mr. Blacenhorn will arrive in Pittsburgh on Thursday morning to assist the ones that are already here on the Steel Strike investigation. No money should be given or any assistance granted this organization until they recall all of the ones that they have in the Pittsburgh district, and further more if there is any way at all of forcing them to get rid of the ones that I have mentioned they should be let go."

The literary qualities of this report can be profitably studied by comparison with the reports in the Monessen "labor file."

The maintenance of the non-unionism alternative, therefore, entailed for the steel companies activities running from spies in church offices in New York to sealed carloads of Negroes shipped into Pittsburgh plant yards at night. For communities and for states the alternative entailed activities of greater import and greater menace. These affected civil liberties in whole communities, local legislative bodies, police authorities, judges, state police troops, Federal government departments, and the U. S. Army.

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Soviet Russia—1920

By BERTRAND RUSSELL

V. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

IN the course of these articles, I have had occasion to mention disagreeable features of the Bolshevist regime. But it must always be remembered that these are chiefly due to the fact that the industrial life of Russia has been paralyzed except as ministering to the wants of the army, and that the Government has had to wage a bitter and doubtful civil and external war, involving the constant menace of domestic enemies. Harshness, espionage, and a curtailment of liberty result unavoidably from these difficulties. I have no doubt whatever that the sole cure for the evils from which Russia is suffering is peace and trade. Peace and trade would put an end to the hostility of the peasants, and would at once enable the Government to depend upon popularity rather than force. The character of the Government would alter rapidly under such conditions. Industrial conscription, which is now rigidly enforced, would become unnecessary. Those who desire a more liberal spirit would be able to make their voices heard without the feeling that they were assisting reaction and the national enemies. The food difficulties would cease, and with them the need for an autocratic system in the towns.

It must not be assumed, as is common with opponents of bolshevism, that any other government could easily be established in Russia. I think everyone who has been in Russia recently is convinced that the existing Government is stable. It may undergo internal developments, and might easily, but for Lenin, become a Bonapartist military autocracy. But this would be a change from within—not perhaps a very great change—and would probably do little to alter the economic system. From what I saw of the Russian character and of the opposition parties, I became persuaded that Russia is not ready for any form of democracy, and needs a strong government. The Bolsheviki represent themselves as the allies of western advanced socialism, and from this point of view they are open to grave criticism. For their international program there is, to my mind, nothing to be said. But as a national government, stripped of their camouflage, regarded as the successors of Peter the Great, they are performing a necessary though unamiable task. They are introducing, as far as they can, American efficiency among a lazy and undisciplined population. They are preparing to develop the natural resources of their country by the methods of state socialism, for which, in Russia, there is much to be said. In the army they are abolishing illiteracy, and if they had peace they would do great things for education everywhere.

But if we continue to refuse peace and trade, I do not think the Bolsheviki will go under. Russia will endure great hardships in the years to come as before. But the Russians are inured to misery as no Western nation is; they can live and work under conditions which we should find intolerable. The Government will be driven more and more, from mere self-preservation, into a policy of imperialism. The Entente has been doing everything to expose Germany to a Russian invasion of arms and leaflets, by allowing Poland to engage in a disastrous war and compelling Germany to disarm. All Asia lies open to Bolshevist ambitions. Almost the whole of the former Russian Empire in Asia is quite firmly in their grasp. Trains are running at a reasonable speed to Turkestan, and I saw cotton from there being loaded on to Volga steamers. In Persia and Turkey powerful revolts are taking place with Bolshevist support. It is only a question of a few years before India will be in touch with the Red Army. If we continue to antagonize the Bolsheviki, I do not see what force exists that can prevent them from acquiring the whole of Asia within ten years.

The Russian Government is not imperialistic in spirit, and would prefer peace to conquest. The country is weary of war and denuded of goods. But if the Western Powers insist upon war, another spirit, which is already beginning to show itself, will become dominant. Conquest will be the only alternative to submission. Asiatic conquest will not be difficult. But for us, from the imperialist standpoint, it will mean utter ruin. And for the continent it will mean revolutions, civil wars, economic cataclysms. The policy of crushing bolshevism by force was always foolish and criminal; it has now become impossible and fraught with disaster. Our own Government, it would seem, has begun to realize the dangers; let us hope it realizes them sufficiently to enforce its view against opposition. If not, the Great War (as we still call it) will have been only the prelude to a conflagration compared with which it will seem to have been a mere frontier skirmish.

Convinced Bolsheviki and their supporters in Western Europe will face this prospect calmly, since they believe that in the end the communist system will be established, and will bring a cure for all the evils from which the world is suffering. I do not find it possible to believe this comforting doctrine. I share the belief in communism, but not in the sort which concentrates immense power in the hands of a few men. A just distribution of power seems to me just as important as a just distribution of material goods. All experience shows that very few men can be long trusted with great power. If Russia wins peace, the liberal ideas of freedom and popular government which the war has put into the background will again become prominent, and it may be possible to restore to the workers some of that control over industry which they had in the early days of bolshevism. But if continued war necessitates continued dictatorship it must happen, sooner or later, that the rulers will use their privileged political position to secure for themselves a privileged economic position. This has already happened to a certain extent; the highly-placed Communists have considerably more comfort than the mass of the population. But what has happened hitherto in this way is, on the whole, justifiable as being necessary for the health and efficiency of members of the Government, who certainly work much longer hours and at much higher pressure than the Governments of the Western Powers.

This, however, is hardly likely to be a permanent state of affairs. As yet, the men in high places in Russia are mostly very ardent Communists, who in former times showed a readiness to sacrifice everything for their beliefs. These men will obviously in time give place to others less devoted, more opportunist, who will regard the situation, as most practical politicians do, from the standpoint of practical advantage. Such men, if they could find means of carrying the

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army with them, would have little difficulty in decreeing large salaries and special privileges for the governing aristocracy. With success would come increased opportunities of corruption, and of exploitation of undeveloped countries. I cannot believe that these temptations would be permanently resisted.

The Bolsheviki have a complete theory, embodied in the Third Internationale, according to which communism is to be established everywhere, as it has been in Russia, by the dictatorship of an energetic minority. The theory is recommended by the impossibility of converting a majority while all the great weapons of propaganda—especially education and the press—are in the hands of the capitalists. This argument is a powerful one, and it certainly shows the extreme difficulty of bringing about a communist state by peaceful means. Where it fails is in the attempt to show that communism, in any stable or desirable form, can be brought about by the dictatorship of a minority. In political theory it is necessary to take account of what may be called psychological dynamics; I mean the changes in men's aims and beliefs that are brought about by changed circumstances. Almost all men, when they have acquired the habit of wielding great power, find it so delightful that they cannot voluntarily abandon it. If they are men who were originally disinterested, they will persuade themselves that their power is still necessary in the public interest; but, whether with or without self-deception, they will cling to power until they are dispossessed by force. This is bound to happen to the communist minority when, as in Russia, it acquires a military dictatorship originally intended to be temporary. Given a few energetic and able men who have a great empire and a great army to play with, it is psychologically all but certain that they will find some excuse for not sharing their power more than they can help. And those who have most power always can, if they choose, also have most wealth. Sooner or later they will so choose, and the expected gains of communism will be lost.

For these reasons, as well as for reasons of pacifism, I cannot accept the bolshevist philosophy or believe in abandoning the slower methods of democracy and popular agitation.

Russia is a backward country, not yet ready for the methods of equal cooperation which the West is seeking to substitute for arbitrary power in politics and industry. In Russia, the methods of the Bolsheviki are probably more or less unavoidable; at any rate, I am not prepared to criticize them in their broad lines. But they are not the methods appropriate to more advanced countries, and our socialists will be unnecessarily retrograde if they allow the prestige of the Bolsheviki to lead them into slavish imitation. It will be a far less excusable error in our reactionaries if, by their unteachableness, they compel the adoption of violent methods. We have a heritage of civilization and mutual tolerance which is important to ourselves and to the world. Life in Russia has always been fierce and cruel to a far greater degree than with us, and out of the war has come a danger that this fierceness and cruelty may become universal. I have hopes that in England this may be avoided through the moderation of both sides. But it is essential to a happy issue that melodrama should no longer determine our views of the Bolsheviki; they are neither angels to be worshiped nor devils to be exterminated, but merely bold and able men attempting, with great skill what is an almost impossible task.

VI. TOWN AND COUNTRY

The problem of inducing the peasants to feed the towns is one which Russia shares with Central Europe, and from what one hears Russia has been less unsuccessful than some other countries in dealing with this problem. For the Soviet Government the problem is mainly concentrated in Moscow and Petrograd; the other towns are not very large, and are mostly in the center of rich agricultural districts. It is true that in the north even the rural population normally depends upon food from more southerly districts; but the northern population is small. It is commonly said that the problem of feeding Moscow and Petrograd is a transport problem, but I think this is only partially true. There is, of course, a grave deficiency of rolling-stock, especially of locomotives in good repair. But Moscow is surrounded by very good land. In the course of a day's motoring in the neighborhood I saw enough cows to supply milk to the whole child population of Moscow, although what I had come to see was children's sanatoria, not farms. All kinds of food can be bought in the market at high prices. I traveled over a considerable extent of Russian railways, and saw a fair number of goods trains. For all these reasons I feel convinced that the share of the transport problem in the food difficulties has been exaggerated. Of course transport plays a larger part in the shortage in Petrograd than in Moscow, because food comes mainly from south of Moscow. In Petrograd, most of the people one sees in the streets show obvious signs of underfeeding. In Moscow the visible signs are much less frequent, but there is no doubt that underfeeding, though not actual starvation, is nearly universal.

The Government supplies rations to every one who works in the towns at a very low fixed price. The official theory is that the Government has a monopoly of the food and that the rations are sufficient to sustain life. The fact is that the rations are not sufficient, and that they are only a portion of the food supply of Moscow. Moreover, people complain, I do not know how truly, that the rations are delivered irregularly; some say, about every other day. Under these circumstances, almost everybody, rich or poor, buys food in the market, where it costs about fifty times the fixed Government price. A pound of butter costs about a month's wages. In order to be able to afford extra food, people adopt various expedients. Some do additional work at extra rates after their official day's work is over. For, though there is supposed to be, by law, an eight-hour day, the wage paid for it is not a living wage, and there is nothing to prevent a man from undertaking other work in his spare time. But the usual resource is what is called "speculation," i.e., buying and selling. Some person formerly rich sells clothes or furniture or jewelry in return for food; the buyer sells again at an enhanced price, and so on through perhaps twenty hands, until a final purchaser is found in some well-to-do peasant or *nouveau riche* speculator. Again, most people have relations in the country whom they visit from time to time, bringing back with them great bags of flour. It is illegal for private persons to bring food into Moscow, and the trains are searched; but by corruption or cunning experienced people can elude the search. The food market is illegal and is raided occasionally, but as a rule it is winked at. Thus the attempt to suppress private commerce has resulted in an amount of buying and selling which far exceeds what happens in capitalist countries. It takes up a great deal of time that might be more profitably employed; and, being illegal, it places practically the whole population of Moscow

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at the mercy of the police. Moreover, it depends largely upon the stores of goods belonging to those who were formerly rich, and when these are expended the whole system must collapse unless industry has meanwhile been reestablished on a sound basis.

It is clear that the state of affairs is unsatisfactory, but, from the Government's point of view, it is not easy to see what ought to be done. The urban and industrial population is mainly concerned in carrying on the work of government and supplying munitions to the army. These are very necessary tasks, the cost of which ought to be defrayed out of taxation. A moderate tax in kind on the peasants would easily feed Moscow and Petrograd. But the peasants take no interest in war or government. Russia is so vast that invasion of one part does not touch another part; and the peasants are too ignorant to have any national consciousness such as one takes for granted in England or France or Germany. The peasants will not willingly part with a portion of their produce merely for purposes of national defense but only for the goods they need—clothes, agricultural implements, etc.—which the Government, owing to the war and the blockade, is not in a position to supply.

When the food shortage was at its worst, the Government antagonized the peasants by forced requisitions, carried out with great harshness by the Red Army. This method has been abandoned; but the peasants still part unwillingly with their food, as is natural in view of the uselessness of paper and the enormously higher prices offered by private buyers.

The food problem is the main cause of popular opposition to the Bolsheviki, yet I cannot see how any popular policy could have been adopted. The Bolsheviki are disliked by the peasants because they take so much food; they are disliked in the towns because they take so little. What the peasants want is what is called free trade, i.e., de-control of agricultural produce. If this policy were adopted the towns would be faced by utter starvation, not merely by hunger and hardship. It is an entire misconception to suppose that the peasants cherish any hostility to the Entente. The *Daily News* of July 13, in an otherwise excellent leading article, speaks of "the growing hatred of the Russian peasant, who is neither a Communist nor a Bolshevist, for the Allies generally and this country is particular." The typical Russian peasant has never heard of the Allies or of this country; he does not know that there is a blockade; all he knows is that he used to have six cows but the Government reduced him to one for the sake of poorer peasants, and that it takes his corn (except what is needed for his own family) at a very low price. The reasons for these actions do not interest him, since his horizon is bounded by his own village. To a remarkable extent each village is an independent unit. So long as the Government obtains the food and soldiers that it requires it does not interefere, and leaves untouched the old village communism, which is extraordinarily unlike bolshevism and entirely dependent upon a very primitive stage of culture.

The Government represents the interests of the urban and industrial population, and is, as it were, encamped amid a peasant nation with whom its relations are rather diplomatic and military than governmental in the ordinary sense. The economic situation, as in Central Europe, is favorable to the country and unfavorable to the towns. If Russia were governed democratically, according to the will of the majority, the inhabitants of Moscow and Petrograd would die of starvation. As it is, Moscow and Petrograd just manage to live by having the whole civil and military power of the state devoted to their needs. Russia affords the curious spectacle of a vast and powerful Empire, prosperous at the periphery but faced with dire want at the center. Those who have least prosperity have most power; and it is only through their excess of power that they are enabled to live at all. The situation is due at bottom to two facts: that almost the whole industrial energy of the population has had to be devoted to war, and that the peasants do not appreciate the importance of the war or the fact of the blockade.

It is futile to blame the Bolsheviki for an unpleasant and difficult situation which it has been impossible for them to avoid. Their problem is only soluble in one of two ways: by the cessation of the war and the blockade, which would enable them to supply the peasants with the goods they need in exchange for food; or by the gradual development of an independent Russian industry. This latter method would be slow and would involve terrible hardships, but some of the ablest men in the Government believe it to be possible if peace cannot be achieved. If we force this method upon Russia by the refusal of peace and trade, we shall forfeit the only inducement we can hold out for friendly relations; we shall render the Soviet State unassailable and completely free to pursue the policy of promoting revolution everywhere.

Starkweather Writes a Happy Ending

By JAMES RORTY

MY name is Starkweather. I am a proud Anglo-Saxon, but my business is writing novels and stories after the Russian manner. What I set down here, must, I fear, be considered as the record of a business failure.

Yesterday the sun turned itself into a molten ooze and filtered into the room where I sat poking out of a typewriter a long screed about a young man who leapt lightly out of the twentieth story window of a skyscraper rather than be a business man.

I said: "What is it clogs the keys? Why am I suddenly weak? There's my young man poised, ready to jump—needs just one more push. Can't you help him through one little page of dying?"

I couldn't. I was too hot. "Let him fall off by himself," I sulked. "O death, do your own dirty work. Let him even live, no matter how raggedly."

The air darkened. It became so hot that I panted and thought I should stifle. Leaving the half-written page in the machine I stripped to my undershirt and lay down on my couch. "Perhaps I, too, am a victim in a tale," I reflected. "Perhaps on the other side of the hill whence come these faint rumblings, there sits the pessimistic genius of the world, who puffs at a pipe and debates whether or not it would make a fitting climax to his story if he converted the earth into an oven and baked to death me and a million other wretched humans."

The thought was scarcely edifying. Resolving that at least I should not die decently in my bed, I got up and returned to the typewriter. But it was impossible for me to work. The disaster which I had planned for my hero must

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be postponed. Nature herself had donned the tragic masque. I went out into the garden. "If this is judgment day," I said to myself, "and if I must make a choice of attitudes, I had on the whole rather that the Angel of the Lord found me in my garden hoeing my beans."

It grew hotter. The haze thickened, and premonitory mutterings came from behind the hill where that laboring genius plotted blood and thunder for the world. "I know, I know," I murmured sympathetically, as I sweated at the hoe. A drop of water spattered on my hand. I looked up, and saw, far up the mountain, an isolated pine tree bend far over sharply, although the air in the valley was yet heavy and lifeless. Then, suddenly, the whole side of the hill vanished in a swirl of rain. It was as if the cloud which had hung over the mountain had liquefied in an instant and flung itself upon the landscape. I got indoors just in time. A sheet of driven water was tearing through my studio window, and I had to fight to close it. The rickety structure rocked and groaned. What if it should go? I had a momentary vision of myself cowering homeless in the midst of a rain-beaten, rioting wilderness, my manuscripts careering in the wind, my feeble typewriter silent in the ruins.

But the house did not go. It even seemed as if there were something positive and challenging about its steadfastness. And outside, too, one saw that the storm was by no means having its own way altogether. Decidedly, it was to be not a massacre but a battle. I almost clapped my hands as I saw the lithe energy with which the slim young maple at my back door wrestled with the gale.

This morning the weather has cleared. That capricious Genius who lives on the other side of the mountain has puffed a fleecy white cloud into the sky, and the sun is temperate. The landscape has a cleansed and guileless aspect like the Old Homestead. I sit at breakfast on my porch and survey the havoc wrought by the storm. My valiant young maple has not even shed a branch. Two roadside trees, however, have toppled over at the roots, carrying with them a section of fence. But prostrate as they are, they are not without dignity. One feels that they fought a good fight, were beaten down fairly, and did not limply flop. The hail has flayed the meadow until grass and daisies and buttercups and iris lie in fallen windrows of drenched and tangled luxuriance. But I know that even now the grass is stretching its roots deep in the oozing soil and sucking up the strength which will bring forth a taller harvest. My beans, too, I reflect confidently, will repair some of their broken stalks and bear with sufficient plenty.

This morning I must finish that story. The young man has been standing on the ledge of that skyscraper quite long enough. It is time he did something about it. He is an interesting young man, a morbid young man, a despairing young man, and according to my usual formula he ought to be half way to the street by this time, rotating slowly and spilling Stygian introspection at the rate of fifty words a second. But after all, he is a *young* man, and this morning I don't feel quite like massacring him. I had rather make him fight. Merely because his insides hurt him, what's the use of flopping him into the street, or flopping him back into business? Let's see—he is a very comfortable young man, and he's got to do something—aha! I have it! I shall make him seduce his stenographer. That will be sunnier, more like life this morning, and yet retain something of my characteristic manner. On the whole, that story is not a complete failure after all.

William Marion Reedy

By ZOE AKINS

MR. REEDY of *Reedy's Mirror* of St. Louis, who died last week, had a genius that he loved to employ for fingering, with the touch of a magician, at a poor literary thing that he could make—with a pass here and a pass there—his own. But I am not of those who regard his attitude toward young talents as one of his foremost literary virtues. "I'm tired of the role of discoverer," he wrote in a letter only a few months ago; and I believe he was indeed tired in the sense that he knew that many of the people he "made" were not in the least aware that he was glad to be the railing beside the stream, yet not continually the crutch for their abilities—though he found a very human satisfaction at times in seeing the vain and the ungrateful stumble when they tried to proceed alone.

Do not misunderstand—there never was anyone whose generosity was more durable in spite of the many strains put upon it, never anyone who loved to praise as he did or was keener than he to be moved to genuine enthusiasm. But "this country is fetid with talent," he wrote on a certain occasion; and I do not believe that he esteemed very greatly his reputation for discovering it. I think he considered it merely a part of his job to find his wares and buy them where others were not bidding, so that the unnatural stress put upon this aspect of his discrimination began eventually to bore him—that and the drag of the wearisome ambitions of many whom he had brought to the public's attention. At any rate, in spite of his delicate solicitude for the anxious beginner, the irony of the larger situation had pierced him. His tongue was often in his cheek. And in saying this I do not forget that I, too, was an anxious beginner—one who went to him with a first sonnet. I find myself resenting the fact that much of the regret which finds its voice today for the departure of William Marion Reedy is for the very things that after all, in comparison with his greater gifts, seem trivial. To say only that he was helpful, that he was kind, that he was the best companion and the most engaging talker in the world, is as though one grieved because he could no longer give his gifts. Those particularly human qualities that had made him something of a sinner's saint had also exhausted to a mood of high-thinking pessimism, or, as he himself put it, to a "death-damp of cynicism," a spirit too rarely equipped for treasure-seeking in eerie corners of the world to be a burden-bearer on the roads that lead in and out of humanity's market-place.

Born at a time and in a place where the life that crowded about him was the weed-like growth of an unkept garden, this child of Kerry Patch grew strangely into a huge creature of exquisite sensibilities, romantic curiosities, and heroic ardors, a soul so sizable and so true that where there was any benevolence or any beauty he was drawn to it. That he recorded himself, sometimes magnificently, sometimes wearily, but always with something of the valuable vision of a far-seeing and far-seeking intelligence is an achievement that has yet to be truly estimated by the finely critical and mentally eager minds of those who will see the crowded works of this crowded day in the perspective of time. Even now we can say that the far-spoken, picturesque Westerner who died the other day had something of the sheer intellectual size of Queen Elizabeth's stirring age.

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The Farmer-Labor Party

By ROBERT M. BUCK

THE Farmer-Labor Party recognizes its mission to be an attempt to end class politics, class parties, and class government in the United States. There is no longer a middle class in this country, despite assertions of any who may wish to organize a middle class party. There are two classes—the exploiters and the exploited. At present the exploiters control the two old parties, by financing them equally—supporting them for the purpose of fooling the voters with false issues and thereby keeping the exploited divided, so that they cannot function unitedly in politics. Thus, the Democratic and Republican Parties are class parties, for if a party is controlled and manipulated by a class, it is as much a class party as if all its members belong to a single class. The effort of the Farmer-Labor Party is to induce all exploited groups to arise in their political might and unite to throw off the exploiters.

Who are exploited? Industrial workers in factory, mine, and on railroad; farm workers, whether for wages, as renters, or as "owners" of land; office workers, store workers, school teachers, scientific workers, actors, small merchants, and that large body of workers whose tools are the frying pan, the broom, and the baby carriage. All of these are exploited. These are not all of the exploited groups, but they serve as typical. People talk loosely about the public. Who are the public? These exploited groups form nine-tenths of the public. Are we not too prone in America to think of the public as consumers? But the same individuals who are consumers are also producers—that is, those of them who serve their fellowmen. Even some of the exploiters are producers, and such of these as are unwilling exploiters belong in the Farmer-Labor Party. To those who complain that the workers also exploit the public, we answer that a man cannot exploit himself. The workers are nine-tenths of the public, and in a country where the majority rules that amounts to saying that, for practical purposes, the workers are the public. Who, then, are the workers—the *labor* to whom the Farmer-Labor Party makes its appeal? In the official language of the party, they are "those who perform useful work by hand and brain." In other words, they are the exploited plus the few exploiters who are unwillingly such.

Realizing that the principal reason why the old parties fool instead of serve the voters is because they are financed equally by the exploiters, the Farmer-Labor Party depends upon its members to finance it. Therefore, it has been organized as a dues-paying party, much along the lines of the Nonpartisan League in the Northwest. The effort is to marshal into a unified political effort the exploited that they may manage and finance their own politics. If this effort is even reasonably successful, the exploited will, by peaceful political action, be able to recapture their government from the control of the exploiters and begin to run it for the ninety per cent. If they can do this, the small per cent of exploiters will be put out of business as such, and at that point there will cease to be two classes in the United States—exploiters and exploited. This is the manner in which the Farmer-Labor Party is fighting class politics, class parties, and class government in the United States. The preamble of the platform tells what appeal is to be made to these groups. Here are some of its important sentences:

> All power to govern this nation must be restored to the people.
>
> Political democracy is only an empty phrase without industrial democracy.
>
> Our nation stands today in danger of becoming an empire instead of a republic.
>
> . . . reconstruction . . . to be effective must smash to atoms the money power of the proprietors of the two old parties.

The planks of the platform pledge restoration in full of American rights and liberties; full equal suffrage for all citizens regardless of sex, race, color, or creed; abolition of imperialism at home and abroad; democratic control of industry; public ownership and democratic operation of public utilities and natural resources; reduction of the growth and evils of farm tenancy; forcing into use idle lands; reduction of the burden of taxation on the exploited and placing it on the exploiter in proportion to his ability to pay. These are not all of the planks, but they are the typical ones. Special planks demand fair play for farmers and for city workers. In the anti-imperialism plank the Treaty of Versailles is denounced, together with our treatment of American dependencies. Then, to make the plank direct and unequivocal, there are flat declarations against war with Mexico and for recognition of the elected Governments of Ireland and Russia. So the Farmer-Labor Party has not dealt in weasel words. It has not sacrificed principle for political expediency. It has demanded votes for Negroes, which means simply the enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution; Federal aid to education, though Federal control is not called for; recognition of Ireland and Russia, full financial recompense for ex-service men, and the complete "bill of rights" of labor as outlined by the American Federation of Labor. None of these matters is urged in the Democratic and Republican platforms. The keynote of the arch is the plank which reads: "the right of labor to an increasing share in the responsibilities and management of industry; application of this principle to be developed in accordance with the experience of actual operation." This is the party's demand for industrial freedom—freedom from exploitation for workers in factory, field, store, and office; to release the balked and thwarted instincts of the workers and restore interest in their work; to put song, sunshine, adventure, and laughter into lives now bleak.

Contributors to This Issue

BERTRAND RUSSELL is the British scholar and philosopher whose first article on Russia was published in *The Nation* of July 31.

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AUGUSTINE BIRRELL is the eminent British essayist.

MARIE TUDOR GARLAND was a delegate to the recent congress of International Woman's Suffrage Alliance.

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Women's Internationalism

By MARIE TUDOR GARLAND

THE Eighth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, held in Geneva, June 6 to 12, met after an interval of seven years. The Congress of 1913 in Budapest had voted to meet the following year. That meeting was never held. In July, 1914, a tidal wave of war began to form. Gaining in force, it swept the earth, gathering in nation after nation. As this wave now recedes new groups appear. Out of the pain of war new nations are born. The international gathering in Geneva brought together the survivors of the old order and the offspring of the new.

To me, the Congress of 1920 seemed to hold more of hope for the world than any international gathering in history. Neutral to all questions that were purely national, yet open to every nation, this Congress came together with a breadth of vision never before attained. Irrespective of language, race or creed, it dealt directly with questions of human life and human liberty. Here, women of antagonistic nations met on the one plane that can draw humanity together, the plane that recognizes life as the vital fact in all constructive policy. Here women met to secure the right of the future race to be born into a world that shall recognize love as a greater force than hate, hold human happiness above human gain, and beauty of life as the first requisite of happiness. Here women met in complete unanimity of purpose, not to serve the ends of women alone, not to align themselves against men, but to win for humanity the liberty that shall belong to it.

The complete enfranchisement of women will place humanity on a safer basis than it has yet had. Woman's voice is as necessary to life as man's and that recognition, as the Congress suggested by its every act, will entail far more than the right of suffrage. Suffrage is only a beginning. The war has brought to the women of many countries the knowledge that they are part of the civilizing influence of the world. As they stood behind the men, freed for action by the necessity of conflict, they saw for the first time the mask stripped from the face of war. They saw its grim mouth claiming food which was their children's. They had to starve the little ones to feed an insatiable appetite. They starved themselves. They starved the unborn. Women found all life, present and future, involved in a cataclysm which they had not brought about and they were forced to search deep for the cause. They awoke to their responsibility; suffrage became inevitable. As a result of this, twenty-one countries reported they had newly won the vote for women.* Organized in 1902 by the efforts of Mrs. Catt, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance first had an affiliation of seven nations. At that time only Australasia had the woman's vote. At the Congress of 1920 were twenty-eight countries affiliated, and several others applying for membership.

Most significant about the Congress was the representation present. Women worked to obtain money to attend. Groups of women sold their jewels in order to enable one woman to be present and represent them. Reports read showed that about one hundred women are in parliaments and at least five thousand holding municipal office. Since the last Congress the woman suffrage movement has obtained full recognition by the press. It has also obtained international recognition from a new angle. Although within the last year a letter sent to President Wilson by the National American Woman Suffrage Association was not acknowledged, yet to this Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance six governments and the League of Nations sent official representatives. Small wonder that such a movement has burst the bounds of suffrage.

Nine resolutions were passed. The gist of these is: that the Congress call upon the women of the world to use their power, through international education and knowledge, to prevent future wars. That equal status with men be granted women in legislative and administrative bodies, both national and international; equal educational and economic rights, equal personal rights, equal domestic rights, equal moral rights. A resolution was sent to the League of Nations: (1) "That the women of thirty-one nations assembled in Congress in Geneva, convinced that in a strong Society of Nations, based on the principles of right and justice, lies the only hope of assuring the future peace of the world, call upon all the women of the whole world to direct their will, their intelligence, and their influence toward the development and the consolidation of the Society of Nations on such a basis, and to assist it in every possible way in its work of securing peace and good will throughout the world; (2) that a Conference of women be summoned annually by the League of Nations for the purpose of considering questions relating to the welfare and status of women, the Conference to be held at the seat of the League . . .; (3) that the League 'recommend to its constituent states the abolition of the state regulation of prostitution.'"

The several government representatives spoke, each in turn bringing forth the various ways that women might cooperate with men, or work singly and in bodies for the betterment of present conditions. Mme. Schwimmer, representing Hungary, poignantly expressed the responsibility of women. Lady Astor, speaking for Great Britain, though American born, expressed the attitude of the younger generation impatiently brought face to face with the facts of life.

Although not every delegate was internationally-minded, and attempts were made to break away into a separate feminist movement, dealing with women's rights as apart from men's, Mrs. Catt was able, through her personality, to hold the group to its course—the full democratization of the women of the world, not primarily as women but as joint members of the human family. The International Woman Suffrage Alliance has before it great possibilities. It came perilously near the point where its utility would cease—that of separating women from men—in the demand for a separate bureau to work through the League of Nations dealing with matters purely feminine. There are no such matters in life. What concerns woman also concerns man. One complements the other, one balances the other. Feminine thought will advance more intelligently once it is recognized as having a place in human psychology.

In primitive man his thought and struggle was for himself only—but now he is found offering his life for the preservation of the nation, recognizing his unity with that group, that group as one with him. His next field of effort is the international and in that effort he has now a comrade.

*The 21 countries are Austria, British East Africa, Canada, Crimea, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Esthonia, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Lettonia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Rhodesia, Russia, Serbia, Sweden, Ukrainia, Uruguay.

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In the Driftway

WHOSE dreadful sin, their parents' or their original own, condemns some people to the names they wear? The Drifter knows a hundred men and women in seven quarters of the country who cannot reveal more than their initials without a blush—the Azariahs and Uardas and Eurythas, the Melchizedeks of Massachusetts and the Catos and Lucius Quintuses of Kentucky. To name a boy, still wriggling in his first redness, after a president is bad enough; the need of Thomas Jeffersons and George Washingtons and Andrew Jacksons is always slighter than the supply; but the Drifter can understand such behavior, even though he has never forgiven it, particularly in the case of a family of his acquaintance which boasts a Grover Cleveland, a Benjamin Harrison, a William McKinley, and doubtless would have boasted a Theodore Roosevelt and heaven knows what else if the line had not turned to girls and produced a Susan Anthony and a Frances Willard. What the Drifter cannot understand, granted one's surname is as unfortunate as inevitable, is why the matter should be made worse by a given name which might be different. Why, for instance, should one pair which the Drifter vouches for, when their name was already Beauty, have called an heir Constant, thus putting him in the pillory of loud, incredulous laughter for life? Yet Constant Beauty, a plain, honest man, actually lifts stones and talks of crops and bullocks in New England. Better far the deft evasion of that family in the West whose name was Mudd. When a son was born to them they might, being of the general rank they were, have called him Henry Clay, as the wags suggested. But no! The mother had a classical tendency, apparently, and wanted to do something that would impart a pastoral touch and at the same time elevate the lowly cognomen. The result, as the Drifter solemnly and sacredly avers and avows, is that within three miles of a great State university, well known to him, cows are milked and horses sworn at by a tax-paying citizen whose name is Coridon Mudd.

* * * * *

THE Drifter always suspected that the most profitable of all businesses was that of being a 100 per cent American. Now he is sure of it. He has read Ole Hanson's testimony at the Communist trial in Chicago as reported in the New York *World*, July 22.

On cross-examination Ole Hanson was asked: "Why did you resign as Mayor of Seattle?"

"Because of poverty, neuritis, and dire need," Hanson replied.

"What was your salary as Mayor?"

"Seventy-five hundred a year."

"What have you been doing since then?"

"I've been lecturing on Americanism." He added that he got $300 each for the first twenty lectures, and that so far he had received about $35,000.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The Boldness of a Bishop

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I should like to draw your attention to a rather unusual incident which occurred at one of the sectional meetings of the recent International Congregational Council at Boston, and which seems to have escaped the notice of most of our newspapers. This was the remarkable address, during a discussion of The Ethics of Liberty, by Bishop Fred B. Fisher of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Remarking that we in this country had in a large measure secured religious and political freedom, he went on to discuss the danger of economic slavery in these days. Here the boldness of the Bishop was delightful as unexpected. To cite but one illustration. He illustrated the meaning of economic serfdom by an anecdote from his own observation in Russia, when he had happened to see a "lordly person" slash the faces of a slow-moving crowd with his whip and they had accepted the brutality "because it had to be so." The audience of the Bishop was appropriately sympathetic. Then in vivid, dramatic language he pictured himself on the steps of a New York hotel about a year ago, watching the line-up of twenty-five hundred Russians for a parade. The parade started, and at the same time there dashed from the side streets forty mounted police who made straight for the crowd, which dispersed in confusion. A robust defender of the law then deliberately turned his horse around and charged down the sidewalk. One man was knocked down, unconscious. Sixteen affidavits were obtained by the Bishop and offered to two leading New York dailies, but they were courteously refused. The "facts" as published said that ten thousand Russians rioted that day, whereas, in the words of the Bishop, "the riot was a riot of the New York police." When bishops speak out, who needs to keep silence? A further illuminating sentence was that in which the Bishop, while warning his audience not to call him a Bolshevik, said that "the Bolshevik regime had done more for primary education in Russia in two years than the Romanoffs had done in three hundred." It was a most refreshing occasion. It is interesting to know that Bishop Fisher has been assigned to work in India. The New India will surely welcome such a lover of freedom into their midst.

West Cornwall, Connecticut, July 21 FRED SMITH

A Suggested Solution

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just read Mr. Soule's article in the issue of July 3 entitled "The Transport Breakdown." Why in the name of common sense does not the public take a hand in controlling its business? It is a simple matter to control, but no effective control will ever develop from conflicts between parties, or bodies, who are actuated by their selfish interests. Legislation fixing a minimum wage high enough to allow every unskilled worker to maintain a family, based upon the index number of the cost of living, and fluctuating as that index fluctuates from time to time.

To secure efficient service on the part of employees entitled to such minimum wage, and to properly remunerate skilled workers, the law should make it obligatory upon the employers and employed to fix two elements by agreement in the industry, (1) A standard of product per day period; (2) To fix percentages above unskilled taken at 100 per cent. for each degree of skill above unskilled labor. Failing such agreement a public authority should be required to fix them. The question of wages would then be removed from the field of conflict. After its establishment, a worker could apply for work at any degree of skill that he had, or thought he had, toward producing the required standard product. Failing to do so he would automatically drop into a lower class, the pay being regulated by the percentage of efficiency that he was able to maintain. On the other hand a man having more skill than called for by the grade he was in would naturally secure higher pay and a higher grade.

It is absurd that the community for which all service is given, and which pays for results, should sit back and allow its servants to play cats and dogs with the business of the country.

Baltimore, July 4 F. LINCOLN HUTCHINS

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Humoresque

By ERNEST M. HUNT

O that I were
A turtle!
I could draw in my head
When these hail storms
Of propaganda
Sweep across the land.

Books

With the Wits

With the Wits. By Paul Elmer More. Houghton Mifflin Company.

Literary Studies. By Charles Whibley. The Macmillan Company.

MANY years have passed since the days when I numbered among my friends a man much older than myself, of pungent wit yet of delicate manners, who, though he had only drawn his breath in the last century, lived and moved, and had his literary being, in the eighteenth. And what a glorious span it was—from Dryden to Johnson! He seemed to me to know the century in all its crevices—both the great names and the small ones. Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Prior, Parnell—they were at his finger ends. No gossip of Walpole's was beneath his humorous notice, no sculduddery of Tom Brown "of facetious memory" but might occasionally serve his turn. For him not a page of *The Gentleman's Magazine* was without its reminiscence, and hardly an anecdote in the seventeen volumes of Nichols would he readily pronounce insignificant. Johnson, from Lichfield to St. Paul's, he had made his very own. Over David Hume he loved to dwell at perhaps too great a length. His taste was indeed too good to dim his eyes to the fact that there was more poetry in Christabel than in the Epistle to Eloise, and more wisdom in Wordsworth than in Prior's Alma; yet when I, seeking to soften the blow, would point out that the early poems of Wordsworth and Coleridge (to say nothing of Burns) were first published within the bounds of the century he loved so well, he moved uneasily, as if overhearing within the slender confines of those volumes the rumble of the death-knell of a great tradition.

My friend had some prejudices, which he carefully nursed and kept warm within his breast; and for a long time, one of the strongest of these was against the United States, which he insisted was the home of multi-millionaires, of corrupt "bosses," and extravagant females. Were you able to point out to him, on any of the rare occasions when he could be persuaded to take a turn in the park or go to the opera, some slim and beautiful damsel wearing her clothes with grace and dignity, yet evidently *une Américaine*, he would but murmur "Oh! Molly Lepel!"

So inveterate a prejudice seemed to me to be bound to follow him to his grave.

Yet one day whilst lunching at the Cheshire Cheese in Fleet Street, he confided to me that he was about, in his old age, to cross the Atlantic. I stared at him with Cortez-like amazement. But it was true. A daughter, so I learnt for the first time, had married an American and insisted upon his coming out to visit her; and so, said he, paraphrasing Gibbon, "I sigh as a Johnsonian, and obey as a father."

I greatly applauded the enterprise and in order to lighten the theme, for he was somewhat moved, asked him whether he had yet made up his mind what book he meant to take with him as a cabin-companion during the passage. His eye flashed. "On one," he replied, "I have already fixed—'Spence's Anecdotes.'" I laughed right out, saying: "Why, you must know all those stories about Pope and Bolingbroke and the rest of them off by heart." "Indeed I do not," was the reply (somewhat tart, as indeed was his wont), "and no more do you. But," he went on, "even if I did, 'Spence's Anecdotes' will so impregnate me with their atmosphere that when I land I shall be immune against the *bacillus Americanus*." In a fortnight he had sailed, and when some weeks afterward I saw on my counterpane an envelope addressed in a well-known hand, and adorned with heads of Presidents instead of Kings, I wondered what I should read within. He relieved my anxiety at once. "I think I am happier here than at home. I need not have troubled about 'Spence's Anecdotes,' for I found a copy by my bedside, and the people I meet every day know a great deal more about Pope and Johnson and Gray and Hume than most of the folk in England, and you have to be very careful in repeating an anecdote even out of Nichol, lest it should prove a chestnut."

These seemingly irrelevant memories of an old friend came upon me almost overwhelmingly whilst reading the tenth series of the "Shelburne Essays." In a world so full of good books, as well as of bad ones, there is no need to apologize for the fact that the tenth series of Mr. More's Essays is the first that has come my way; for now that it has come, what can be pleasanter than to learn that there are nine other volumes behind it? My old friend, had he lived to review "With the Wits," could have done it fuller justice than lies within my power. It is difficult to review a bundle of essays on divers subjects. In this volume Mr. More handles, knowingly, amongst others, Halifax "The Trimmer," Swift, Pope, "Lady Mary," Bishop Berkeley, and the Duke of Wharton. Familiar names, no doubt, and, after a dim fashion, familiar scenes; yet admitting of a great variety of treatment, and an almost infinite suggestiveness.

Mr. More seems to belong, though it is rash for me to hazard the assertion, to the order of American conservatives. He sometimes writes in a style which were he not an American citizen I should be disposed to call a Tory style, and one that agrees in sentiment, though not in mode of expression, with those excellent "Literary Studies" and "Literary Portraits" of Mr. Charles Whibley, about whose Toryism there can be no doubt. When read carefully Mr. More's essay on Pope has at times an almost Jacobite ring—a not unpleasing sound to me, who though neither a Jacobite nor a Jacobin have no more a passion for the Whigs than Johnson had for clean linen. After telling us that the only honest way of dealing squarely with Pope is to treat him as the Poet of Satire, and as a foremost fighter in the battle of the Wits, he goes on as follows:

"That battle of the Wits was no causeless or merely bookish event, but was part of the great political war of the land. . . . It all goes back to that terrible mischance which in the days of the Stuarts divided the imagination and the practical sense of England into irreconcilable camps. . . . That separation kept its character through the following century, if it has not continued down to this day. Bolingbroke's vision of the Patriot King was a reassumption of the faith of the Cavaliers, and as it was a product of the imagination divorced of practical sense we see it working out in the follies of George III and the loss of an empire. Walpole's policy was essentially a continuation of the empire of Cromwell, and as it failed to make a plea for the imagination in its practice we see the result in the gradual lowering of England's ideal life. At the beginning of the eighteenth century England was the intellectual leader of Europe; at the end she followed at a distance. I know of no more distressing fact in her history than the situation which at the critical moment of 1714 set all the notable men of letters on the losing side—all of them, I should say, with the exception of Addison and Steele, for De Foe at least served Harley and fell with him. . . . Picture to yourself one of the dinners at Lord Oxford's, the guests they met there, and what they stood for, or call up one of the more intimate companies in the apartments of Dr. Arbuthnot, and in comparison with these think of what passed in the palace of George I and his son."

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Our essayist, and here I am with him, loves satire, and counts the great Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot as at once the prologue and the consummation of Pope's satires. "For myself," he writes, "I have read the Epistle oftener, perhaps, than any other English poem except Lycidas. . . . If it is not poetry, I do not know where poetry is to be found."

Mr. More defends Pope's ferocious and atrocious attack on Lord Hervey on the ground that its "real animus was the relation of Hervey and Queen Caroline and the Hanoverian Court, and all that meant to the intellectual and imaginative life of England. This, too, most be the palliation for the portrait of Addison." Over this fierce warfare of the Wits against Dullness our essayist casts a sympathetic eye and has no hesitation in ranking himself on Pope's side. "Men in this living age are still fighting for the rights of the mind against a dull and elusive materialism, for the freedom of the imagination against a prosaic tyranny, for a pure and patient ambition against the quick successes of vanity and pliant cleverness, for the reality of human nature against a fatuous self-complacency!"

Another of Mr. More's papers ought to be mentioned, since it relates to an author who, though he has almost everything to recommend him, for he wrote but little and all that little is quotable, is yet only seldom mentioned by the critics—Halifax the Trimmer. To write about Halifax is to quote him, for only he can explain himself. Amongst Mr. More's quotations is one I had never before noted: "Men must be saved in this world by their want of faith." Sixty years ago an old Liverpool Quaker was fond of impressing upon me his maxim, "Remember, that whilst you are saved in the next world by faith, in this one you are saved by lack of it." Even Quakers must have their odd moments, and some of them may in this case have been devoted to reading Halifax "On the World." To read "With the Wits" is indeed to enjoy the community of letters after an exhilarating fashion.

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL

A Study in Propaganda

Facts and Fabrications about Soviet Russia. By Evans Clark. The Rand School of Social Science.

HOWEVER wrong and in the long run unwise it may be, it seems to be a natural tactic, and one that has a sure temporary effect, for men and parties to blacken the character of and to distort the facts about their enemies. The enormous mass of international vituperation poured from the press and from the pulpit during the last six years was a phenomenon not peculiar to the Great War; it has been characteristic of every war. And now the same organs recently engaged in spouting hatred against Germany have turned the stream against Russia. Such a campaign of misrepresentation, prejudice, and sheer mendacity as has been waged against the Bolsheviki can find no parallel unless we go back to the French Revolution as mirrored in the distorted fears of the English and Continental conservative aristocrats.

It is not to offer new facts about Russia but to expose the calumnies of her enemies that Mr. Evans Clark has produced a guide-book for searchers after truth "designed to enable the reader to identify a fabrication at sight, and to know just what truth may be found in the morass of conflicting propaganda." The method is simple and admirably adapted to the purpose. Many of the fabrications are so patently absurd as to need only fair statement to be exposed; most of the others have been proved false by the course of events, and many have been retracted by their first sponsors, though the retraction, tardy and inconspicuous, has seldom reached in full force any but a few of those impressed by the original sensational and advertised lie. Indeed, had readers only good memories and attentive eyes such propaganda as that served up in most of the daily press would be impossible because self-contradictory and self-destructive. In the New York *Times*, for example, in rapid succession Lenin and Trotzky were reported as fugitives in Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland, as in hiding, as in asylums, as having arrested each other, and as having frequently died. But all these reports were grossly exaggerated, as Mark Twain said of his own demise. The imminent crash of the "tottering" Soviet Government has been prophesied regularly and frequently ever since it started. Many of the most greedily devoured and widely spread legends, such as that of the nationalization of women, proved utterly without foundation.

Hard as was the lot of those who tried to drain a little truth from the barren breasts of the daily newspapers, it was made infinitely more difficult by the activity of a government that so far forgot its high calling as to set an example for forgery and lawlessness to all the criminals in the country. The Sisson documents, purporting to prove that the Bolsheviki were paid German agents, were issued with an official stamp by our Publicity Bureau after they had been rejected as too crass by the governments of England and France. The Lusk Committee, acting under warrants of doubtful legality, raided the premises of the Rand School and put the Russian Soviet agent and all his friends under arrest, seized their papers, and put them through a grilling examination. Though they failed to find any evidence that the suspected persons had violated the law in any way, numerous statements were given to the press by the members of the Committee intended to damage them and prejudice their case before the public.

The etiology of the whole thing is referred by Mr. Clark to the class war, which he calls "the outstanding fact of today." "Governments," he adds, "are at bottom part of the machinery by which the dominant class in any nation maintains its supremacy." The same thing was noted by the best Lord Chancellor that England ever had. "When I consider all the commonwealths that be nowadays," wrote Sir Thomas More four hundred years ago, "so help me God, I can see nothing but a conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name of the common wealth."

There must be many people in the United States, of whom the present reviewer is one, who without being partisans of the Soviets feel very urgently the need of getting the whole truth and nothing but the truth about Russia. For such persons Mr. Clark's annotated bibliography will be of great value. Possibly his classification is a little biased, as when he maintains that all the conservatives have been unreliable and all the liberal and labor organs truthful. It is well known that some socialists, like John Spargo, A. Bullard, and C. E. Russell, have turned against the Bolsheviki; and on the other hand there have been articles and books by men hostile to socialism who have been capable of honorably reporting facts. But in general his criterion will stand and his list will prove sound.

PRESERVED SMITH

Satires and Sketches

Windmills. A Book of Fables. By Gilbert Cannan. B. W. Huebsch.

The Golden Bird and Other Sketches. By Dorothy Easton. With a Foreword by John Galsworthy. Alfred A. Knopf.

AN essay could be written on the decay of satire. The events of the last half century have given us no Dryden or Swift, Voltaire or Heine. Mr. Shaw is a satirist, but then he is so much more. In that so much more lies the explanation. The world is too big and confused, society too little compact and limited. Satire needs definite objects, sharp, clean-cut oppositions, well-defined and common points of information. It requires men rather than institutions and catastrophes. But the latter are our portion. An Englishman might write a superb satire on the character, or rather the characters, of Lloyd George. But his friends will not and his enemies are too aghast at his cosmic opportunism. To write satire you must be angry, but not too angry, not overwhelmed and in despair of soul.

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This theory receives support from the fact that Mr. Gilbert Cannan's incisive satiric fables were, for the most part, completed before the breaking out of hostilities in 1914 and highly approved as an accurate satiric forecast by friends of peace and reason in both England and Germany. When war did come the fables were condemned and suppressed in England and the projected German translation was never made. The war was at once proclaimed a holy war in both countries and the voice of the satirist was silenced. And that is, probably, the final reason why satire is rare among us. Modern governments, more careful than the tyrants of old, will not endure it. After all, the peoples are awake and must on no account hear the challenge of reason. Sinister oligarchs, secure in their persons and properties, may get a grim amusement out of a satiric attack on their ways and ideas. But common men might refuse slavery and death if they were shown the wickedness and folly of warlike and imperialistic enterprise. So Mr. Cannan tells us that "in a certain division of the British army it was declared to be a court martial offense for any officer to have the book in his possession." At all events, for the duration of the war the book's existence was dim and underground and its circulation therefore very limited. For the tragedy of censorship, as well as of kindred prohibitive measures, is not, as the innocent fancy, that it does not prohibit, but that it does.

Mr. Cannan's satiric machinery is not new. His Ultimus is born on an island; his parents die; he has as master and guide the disillusioned, purely intellectual Siebenhaar. He makes his first acquaintance with the world while the world is at war, and, from the vantage ground of his isolation amid contending interests and his freshness of vision, is able to detect its crimes and follies. Fate, moreover, places in his hands so powerful an engine of destruction that he is able to compel the belligerents to make peace. His manifesto to them is admirable as both prophecy and satire. It contains all the pretended principles of a liberal peace stripped of sentimentality and cant and dishonest reservations. Equally excellent are the discourses of Siebenhaar in which he foretells both atrocities as natural to war and atrocity-mongering as belonging to human hysteria and terror. And indeed, when the time and circumstances of the book's composition are remembered, one's admiration for Mr. Cannan's clear and trenchant perspicacity is of the highest. At that point, however, one's admiration ends. Here, as in all his recent books, there is, on the side of art, a total lack of modulation, of warmth, of felicity. Mr. Cannan has qualities of mind and temper that should make him a writer of the first importance. And an unconquerable lack of inner grace will not let him become what he might be. A close investigation of what is wrong with his books should reveal some of the ultimate secrets of literary art.

The sketch has decayed like the satire, but for different reasons. It demands the meditative mood in both author and reader. To write or to enjoy it, you must not be in a hurry or eager either to produce or to enjoy the immediately striking and effective. You must have a little leisure, a little patience, and much detached curiosity about life for its own sake as well as for the beautiful or characteristic appearances of things. Miss Dorothy Easton possesses all these tastes and qualities in a very high degree. She has both the sensitiveness and the strength of a finely disciplined nature; she has glow and detachment, patience and also swiftness of vision. With a remarkable economy of means she renders the rather drowsy sweetness of her South of England scenes. And occasionally, as in the sketch called Laughing Down, her tenderness for her landscape makes her sentimental and callous—the two are never far apart—about people. But her best sketches, of which there are many, have their brief moments of irony and tragedy and so combine beauty and wisdom in uncommon measure. Read her Impossible, For the Red Cross, Adversity, The Shepherd, Our Men. These are notable bits of writing, spare yet rich, grim in substance yet beautifully mellow in their art. Or, for another and even finer mood, read Transformation and It is Forbidden to Touch the Flowers. Here, as in not a little of the post-war literature of the younger English writers, we find a grave and lovely tenderness for human nature as it really is, life as it has always and must always be lived, for the poignant, solitary romance of simple souls. The French sketches are as authentic as the English ones, and Mr. Galsworthy was quite right to "beat the drum" for Miss Easton. Yet we doubt whether many of the people whom his drum summons will linger very long to hear Miss Easton's flute. It is not a popular instrument and the noise of brass bands fills the air.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Books in Brief

REGARDING Europe as an intricate republic with all its interests close-knit and its equilibrium exquisitely sensitive, François de Callières in 1716 published at Paris a vade-mecum for diplomats which has been translated and issued in a handsome edition by A. F. Whyte as "On the Manner of Negotiating with Princes" (Houghton Mifflin). "Secrecy," says Callières, "is the very soul of diplomacy"; and his manner of expounding the manners of negotiation might almost be that of some accomplished mole long employed by his monarch in listening for ground-tremors in all parts of the garden, learning where traps were set and plows expected and where the roots grew sweetest and lushest, and finding out the shortest way to them and back to safety. Discretion, however, not deceit is the method Callières urges. The ideal diplomatist must be "a man of probity and one who loves truth." "It is true that this probity is not often found joined to that capacity for taking wide views which is so necessary to a diplomatist." He should have learning, experience, penetration, eloquence, as well as the most equable temper, the most easy gallantry, the quickest repartee, the most tireless patience; he must be courageous without being rash, dignified without being mysterious, wealthy without being too proud of his purse, well-bred without being haughty. He must dispense gifts generously, though he should rarely take them, and he should do his bribing like a gentleman, in the due fashion of the court to which he is accredited. In a democratic state he should flatter the Diet—and feed it, for good cheer is an admirable road to influence. He should have a flair for nosing out secrets as well as a genius for hiding them; his use of spies is the test, almost the measure, of his excellence. "The wise and enlightened negotiator must of course be a good Christian." Machiavelli explained princely policy and Chesterfield worldly polish no more lucidly than Callières, who was private secretary to the Most Christian King Louis XIV and ambassador and plenipotentiary entrusted with the Treaty of Ryswick, explained the devices and virtues of his craft. He had high standards for diplomatists; he wanted them to be better trained, better valued, and better rewarded than they were. He thought they should be men of letters and men of peace. He would not have held himself to blame for assuming that the relation between even friendly princes was that of ceaseless rivalry and that the first interest of each was to take something from the others. Those were the assumptions of the age. Callières was merely pointing out, with tact and charm, how the members of the diplomatic corps might best observe all the punctilios that go with honor among the most precious thieves.

HARCOURT, BRACE, AND HOWE have made so brilliant a record in their brief career as publishers that it is surprising that they should reprint Helen Zimmern's and Antonio Agresti's "New Italy" as it were a new production. The book was brought out in England in 1917 to meet the requirements of wartime propaganda. There is nothing Italian which the authors do not praise—unless it be the Italian Socialists and the Catholic Party. They defend Italy's claim to the entire Dalma-

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tian coast and to "compensations" in Turkey; they glorify the military genius of General Cadorna, laud d'Annunzio, and kneel to the King—"a noble man, a modern democratic ruler as well as a soldier of the old Savoy stock." For their chapter on "Notable Men of New Italy" they select Cadorna, Sonnino, Bissolati, Salandra, and the King! As to the Catholics and Socialists, they maintain that these two parties, which between them won a majority in the Italian Chamber at the first post-war election, have no popular support. Yet they know and love the old Italy, and they have packed much valuable information into their book, despite haphazard statistics and recurrent bellicose homilies on the war. There is need of an authoritative book on New Italy; this is not it.

R. B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM in "A Brazilian Mystic" (Dodd, Mead) reports a millennial experiment in Brazil which in the nineties of the last century threatened the authority of the government and led to a little civil war and a fearful massacre. Antonio Conselheiro (the Councillor), a village saint and thaumaturgist, gathered about him an increasing band of followers—in the end perhaps as many as twenty thousand—and established them at the town of Canudos in the Sertão, or highlands, lying between the provinces of Bahia and Pernambuco. There his fierce Jaguncos, leather-clad Centaurs before the Lord, as hard and dry as cowboys and as dogmatic as Covenanters, attracted the finest flower of backwoods rascaldom and lived in untrammeled habits of faith, fornication, and homicide. At the same time they were not so much demoralized by their expectations of the speedy end of the world as to grow idle, but attended steadily to their own business, for the most part desiring only to be let alone. The sum of their offense againt Brazil was probably that they expected the mythical Don Sebastian to come back to rule the land in the interval before the Last Judgment; but as they refused to transfer their allegiance from Don Pedro II to the Republic when it was proclaimed in 1889, they looked to officialdom like traitors. Moreover, Antonio, at first a patient martyr, was becoming militant with the assurance that he was the true viceregent of God. Against such heresies the government sent a peaceful, prayerful mission which was laughed down, then three warlike expeditions, each stronger than the one before it and each ignominiously defeated. There was nothing to do but to use a force of more than ten thousand soldiers, who after a midsummer of extermination in 1897 overcame the sectaries. This story Mr. Cunninghame Graham tells vividly, with rather too many nagging philosophical comments, but with a richly colored background of strange, wild customs.

IT is impossible to visualize the recipient of Mr. H. J. Massingham's "Letters to X" (Dutton). The title is an unfortunate one, for it leads one to expect ease and familiarity, whereas Mr. Massingham's essays are delivered *ex cathedra* and in a style both heavy and dense. He is a lover of dust covered books—that is, books which are not only old but also seldom disturbed even by literati—and this much is to be attributed to him for righteousness. But he seems widely read rather than discriminating, and though he ranges all the way from Richard de Bury's Philobiblon to John Gould Fletcher, he hardly does much to illuminate the names which he mentions. He declares many enthusiasms but lacks the gift of differentiation, and tells us that Lucian and Swift were great satirists (which is hardly news) without helping us to an understanding of their spirits. It is unkind, but hardly unfair, to say that Mr. Massingham's book reminds one of the experience of a young lion at a literary tea where the conversation ran after this fashion: "I'll tell you who was a great writer." "Who?" "Milton!"

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL'S "The Story of the Nonpartisan League" (Harpers) gives an extended account of the business grievances that have led to the present remarkable

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political movement among the farmers of the Northwest. More than half of Mr. Russell's pages, in fact, are occupied by the story of short weights, false grading, and other marketing abuses, of high interest charges exacted by money lenders, and of political and business life dominated by railroads, banks, and chambers of commerce in distant market centers. The actual sketch of the rise and growth of the League is therefore boiled down to less than 140 pages. Within this compass, Mr. Russell has compressed the main events in the stormy history of the organization, up to and including the notorious Fargo bank case, in which enemies of the League sought to wreck it by wrecking its bank. As those who know the author would expect, he gives a sympathetic account of the work of Townley and his associates. In his discussion of the war years, however, Mr. Russell blames the leaders of the League for failing earlier to appreciate the issues of the war as he sees them, though he defends leaders and followers alike against the unwarranted charge of disloyalty. While this book is not to be compared with the more intimate and comprehensive work by Mr. Gaston, it is none the less a valuable account of a movement that has been much misrepresented in the public press.

THE Book of Revelation has fallen on evil days. Between the literal millennialists and the micro-analytical scholars it is placed between the devil and the deep sea, or, to use its own terms, between the dragon and the abyss. It is therefore a real service to religion and sanity when a scholar equipped with common sense as well as with knowledge provides a good commentary on it. This has been done by Professor Isbon T. Beckwith in "The Apocalypse of John" (Macmillan), a bulky volume adapted not only for scholars but for laymen, who will find the Greek words translated. More than half of the nearly eight hundred pages are devoted to general discussions of the literary and historical problems connected with the book. For with other scholars Mr. Beckwith finds in explaining the book that most light comes from the special literary type of apocalypse to which the book belongs, and from the historical circumstances of the first century in Asia Minor. He accepts the traditional date, he discusses fairly the identity of the author, and he inclines to the sensible view of unity of authorship. Of course he does not propose to know all mysteries, but he explains everything that can claim a probable solution. Since a volume on Revelation has been lacking in the most recent series of commentaries both English and German, the book fills a real need.

Notes and News

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is better than the opinions, but there are few opinions and only enough history to add the right tincture of romance. Taken as a whole, the book expands the American imagination like a dream and thrills it like a bugle at dawn. To have glanced through it, even, and not to have honed to see the Woolworth Building and the Mesa Encantada is to have made a failure of a day. A different way is to follow, in C. Henry Smith's "The Mennonites" (Mennonite Book Concern), the trail of the Anabaptists from all their ancestral nooks in Europe to America and all their nooks here—a strange, at times dusty, and yet always moving tale of Christian fidelity. The persecutions of the sixteenth century and those which the pacifist Mennonites endured during the World War are bound together by a strain, shall we say, of natural piety on the part of the persecutors. Agnes Edwards's "The Old Coast Road from Boston to Plymouth" (Houghton Mifflin) is agreeably though thinly written and has graceful drawings by Louis H. Ruyl. A stranger byway, interestingly interpreted, appears in William Way's "History of the New England Society of Charleston, South Carolina. . . . 1819-1919" (Published by the Society), a significant chapter in the record of that loom which is weaving a nation out of disparate elements. Warren Upham's "Minnesota Geographic Names: Their Origin and Historic Significance" (Minnesota Historical Society), apparently the minutest kind of study and minutely executed, is actually a vivid commentary on the way of the European languages in America, where in one State the townships of Blooming Prairie and Bogus Brook, for example, lie down with the townships of Saint Olaf and Breitung and Buyck and the river Pomme de Terre, and Minnesota and Mississippi lead them. In "On the Trail of the Pioneers" (Doran) John T. Faris offers a mosaic, somewhat sketchily assembled, of pioneer adventure chosen from the accounts of the pioneers themselves who dared the West. Even were the text a dozen times more sketchy, the book would be justified by the quaint pictures reproduced from early sources. Most picturesque, or at least best advertised, of scouts, William F. Cody has now two volumes added to his legend, an "Autobiography" (Cosmopolitan Book Corporation) and Louisa Frederici Cody's "Memories of Buffalo Bill" (Appleton). Who wrote them? Courtney Ryley Cooper admittedly collaborated with Mrs. Cody and probably helped out with the sentimental and theatrical elements which do what they can to spoil a rattling story; Cody's own helper is not named. If only Snorre Sturlason and not Fenimore Cooper had set the fashion for tales of Western daring! Essentially the most novel of all the group of books now under review is "The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian" (University of California Press), edited with explanatory notes by Paul Radin, in which a middle-aged Winnebago called "S. B.," who belongs to a prominent family of the tribe and has had typical experiences, relates them in considerable detail and with great candor. He tells of his youthful amusements and fasts, of his courting and his many affairs with women, of his various travels, of his time spent with shows and circuses, of his term in prison charged with murder, of his conversion to the peyote rite, and of his subsequent visions of Earthmaker (God). The narrative extraordinarily adumbrates customs and sentiments which have almost always been studied from the outside but which here have the most intimate ring of actuality. As ethnology the account is of great value, and merely as general reading it is highly delectable. The stuff of good literature, though not in any final form, appears in Frank B. Linderman's "On a Passing Frontier; Sketches from the Northwest" (Scribners), short stories without too much art, but also without too much decoration, which bring the Little Rockies very near home. The clever surface views regarding Mexico which that amusing man Vicente Blasco Ibáñez recently published in certain New York and Chicago newspapers have now been issued in a volume as "Mexico in Revolution" (Dutton). They do not look less like diurnal reporting now than they did then.

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International Relations Section

The Facts About the Polish Pogroms

THE report of Sir Stuart Samuel, commissioned by the British Government to investigate the massacres and ill-treatment of Jews in Poland, is here printed in full as transmitted to Earl Curzon on June 2 by Sir H. Rumbold, British Minister to Poland.

SIR: I was intrusted by His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with a mission to Poland on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the primary object of which was to examine the specific charges that have been brought against the Poles of having ill treated the Jewish population of their country, including any fresh cases of ill-treatment that might be brought to my notice while my mission lasted. I was, in particular, instructed to use my best endeavors to ascertain in each case where massacres or outrages of Jews had taken place, where and to what extent the different grades of Polish authorities were to blame either for encouraging or culpably failing to prevent them, or whether they had taken all steps in their power to suppress outbreaks and punish the offenders. The aim of my mission was to dissipate any misunderstandings that might have arisen and thus to promote mutual goodwill between Poland and Great Britain. I was therefore instructed to make such recommendations to His Majesty's Government as might occur to me with the object of establishing greater harmony between Jewish and other elements of the population, as a satisfactory solution of that problem would obviously go far to promote the national prosperity. The mission left London early in September and remained in Poland about three months. I took excesses against the Jewish population which occurred in Cracow, Lodz, Vilna, Lida, Pinsk, and Lemberg as typical, and visited those places from Warsaw. Traveling conditions in Poland at the period of the visits of the mission presented such difficulty, owing to heavy falls of snow and to the fact that a large number of passenger trains had ceased running in consequence of their accommodation being required for the transport of food, that the mission was unable to visit further towns.

My instructions directed my particular attention to the necessity of inquiring into the statements respecting occurrences of excesses or pogroms in Poland. In Poland a pogrom is understood to be an excess against a certain section of the population, but in England, owing to the experience of previous outbreaks in Russia, the word pogrom has become associated with excesses organized by the government against a portion of the population, or when the authorities took no steps to restrain those perpetrating the excesses, or intervened at a period too late to be effective in preventing the loss of human life. The result of my inquiries brought me to the conclusion that the occurrences at Lemberg, Lida, and Vilna come under the head of pogroms in the sense generally understood in England. The awful massacre at Pinsk partook more of the character of a military murder. During the outbreaks which took place in the two other towns a certain number of Jews were assaulted and plundered, but the military authorities endeavored to restrict the action of the soldiers as much as possible. Speaking generally, as the civil authority has been able to make its power effective, so the position in the rear of the troops has become more and more satisfactory.

The Polish government has been confronted with the problem of maintaining order in those portions of the German, Russian, and Austrian Empires which have been incorporated within the present Republic of Poland. The establishment of order was intrusted to a semi-military force known as the field gendarmerie, corresponding somewhat to a military police force. This body was recruited from a not very desirable class, and is practically independent of any but the highest civil authority. The gendarmerie has almost unlimited powers, and is in the habit of entering the houses, chiefly of the Jews, at any time of the day or night upon the pretext of searching for arms, and robs and beats the Jews. This is done quite openly, and the Jews may be said to have no means of redress. Proceedings, when taken, are allowed to drift for an interminable period and usually result in the implicated men being released. There is thus really no security for the Jewish population. Besides the gendarmerie there is a police force, but the remarks applied to the former can be taken as on the whole true with regard to the latter also. The Polish government recognizes the inadequacy of this body, and, I understand, is taking steps to reorganize it.

In addition, the junior authorities of justice and of civil administration also are of inferior standing and morale, taking advantage of their position not only to persecute the Jews, but also to exact bribes upon an astonishing scale.

The foregoing remarks apply in a less degree to Galicia, which has been brought under the administration of the Polish government during the past year. Many former Austrian officials have been retained, who, having been trained under the Austrian Empire, maintain certain traditions which make for a better condition of law and order. These remarks equally apply to the districts of German Poland, but in the remaining portion of Poland, the officials being new and inexperienced, the deplorable result I have mentioned has ensued. The higher officials both of the government and of justice, in my opinion, are not subject to these unfortunate failings, and whenever it is possible to obtain the attention of these authorities a rough form of justice is achieved.

The contention of the Polish government that it was not strong enough to keep pogroms under control in the past may perhaps have some cogency, but I should like to draw attention to the fact that, with the exception of events at Minsk, no pogroms have occurred during the stay of either the American Mission or the British Mission to Poland. It would therefore appear reasonable to deduce that if the government is sufficiently strong to restrain wrongdoers for this period, namely, about five months, it should be competent to do so in future.

The Jews in Poland and Galicia number about three millions. As in other countries the large majority of them are very poor, suffering severely from hunger and privation. Want of employment is prevalent, although a large proportion of them are artisans and laborers. They are divided broadly into three classes, namely:

1. What are known as the Assimilators;
2. The Zionists; and
3. The Orthodox;

though doubtless there are many Orthodox among the Zionists. They speak a jargon known as Yiddish, which is to be found wherever Jews congregate, but of recent years there is a tendency to employ Hebrew as a living language, though it is seldom used as the colloquial language of the home circle. The fact of their language being akin to German often led to their being employed during the German occupation in preference to other Poles. This circumstance caused the Jews to be accused of having had business relations with the Germans. Almost as soon as the Polish government was established, ill-feeling became manifest against the Jews. Public opinion had been aroused against them by the institution of a virulent boycott. This boycott dates from shortly after the by-election for the Duma, which took place in Warsaw in 1912. Amongst the

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candidates was M. Dmowski, one of the leaders of the National Democratic Party. When the names of the electors came to be scrutinized, it was found that the Jewish electors possessed the controlling influence in the election. They considered, however, that the capital of Poland should not be represented by a member of a minority in the country, and therefore did not present a Jewish candidate, but patriotically offered to support any candidate who would abstain from an anti-Semitic policy. The only candidate willing to accede to this condition was M. Jagiello, a Roman Catholic Pole, who was accordingly returned. M. Dmowski, who was defeated at the poll, thereupon set out on a campaign to break the Jewish influence, and from that time to this has pursued a policy with the object of driving the Jews from Poland, a step which can only be fraught with disaster to the country. During the war, owing to the scarcity of almost everything, the boycott diminished, but with the armistice it revived with much of its original intensity. A charge has been made against the government of participation in this boycott. The government publicly declared its disapproval of boycotting, but a certain discrimination seems to have been made in the reemployment of those who served under the German occupation. I find that many Jews who thus served have been relieved of their offices and not reinstated, whereas I can find no evidence of similar procedure in regard to other Poles. Jewish doctors are unable to obtain positions in the hospitals. Other qualified Jews cannot secure appointments as post-office officials, on the railway staff, or as teachers in the public schools and colleges, with the exception of Professor Askenazy, recently appointed to a chair in the University of Warsaw. There is also a limitation of the number of students professing the Jewish religion permitted to enter certain universities. With the exception of doctors and a few officials in the administrative offices, there are few officers in the army. That this is merely a matter of religious prejudice is shown by the fact that all these posts are open to those Jews who are willing to change their religion.

In time of scarcity essential articles of food such as bread, potatoes, and sugar are distributed to the population by minor officials. I received many complaints that the Christian population were supplied first, and that in numerous cases the stock was exhausted before all the Jews had received their share. The complaint that Jews and Christians were divided into separate queues, and also that the Jews were discriminated against to their disadvantage in the markets, could not be substantiated.

Without doubt a systematic attempt, more especially by provincial authorities, is being made to oust Jews from their trades, and it is only where these authorities are as a result confronted by peculation and incompetency that they realize the futility of their action. The government itself is not without some experience of this kind. I had my attention drawn to cases of discrimination against Jews dealing in hides, petroleum, salt, bread, and other articles, which in my opinion could only have been based upon religious prejudice. I do not find, however, any ground for the complaint that the government is putting Jewish merchants at a disadvantage in comparison with non-Jews with regard to permission to import goods from abroad. In fact, the club of Jewish merchants at Warsaw, consisting of several thousand members, assured me that the arrangements made were quite satisfactory. I have also received facts and figures from M. Szczeniowski, Minister of Commerce, fully bearing out this point.

A severe private, social, and commercial boycott of Jews, however, exists among the people generally, largely fostered by the Polish press. In Lemberg I found that there was a so-called social court presided over by M. Przyluski, a former Austrian vice-president of the Court of Appeal, which goes so far as to summon persons having trade relations with Jews to give an explanation of their conduct. Below will be found a copy of a typical cutting from a Polish newspaper giving the name of a Polish countess who sold property to Jews. This was surrounded by a mourning border, such as is usual in Poland in making announcements of death.

"Countess Anna Jablonowska, resident in Galicia, has sold her two houses, Stryjska Street, Nos. 18 and 20, to the Jews, Dogilewski, Hübner, and Erbsen.

"The attorney of the Countess was Dr. Dziedzic; her administrator, M. Naszkowski.

"Will the Polish public forever remain indifferent and passive in such cases?"

There can be no doubt that the government could greatly restrain the virulency of this movement if the powers usually resident in a government were effectually used to prohibit such agitation. Although the government declares against boycotting, the Polish press is allowed openly to advocate it, while the Yiddish press is suspended for quite trivial offenses. It is a well-known fact that the ill results of boycotting cannot be limited to the class aimed at, for this weapon has a tendency to affect others and eventually to react upon those who make use of it. The idea widely prevails that the so-called Litvaks, Russian Jews driven to Poland by the former Russian government, should be induced to return, and I am of opinion that should a suitable government and peaceful conditions be reestablished in Russia there would be a general emigration to that country, not only of Jews but also of other Poles. The ardent hope was frequently expressed to me that Russia would soon be open for immigration, for although the late Russian government fomented pogroms and massacres of the Jews, the Russian himself is of a kindly nature and friendly disposed to his neighbor. Business relations between Poland and Russia were very considerable in the past, and were generally in the hands of Jews, not only in the handling of the goods exported, but also of their manufacture. Warsaw, the Polish capital, formed a meeting-place for the merchants of Russia and the western states, and was also a depot for goods eventually destined for Russia. All these trading agencies are now at a standstill, and Poland is feeling the economic result of this stoppage. Other inducements for an industrial population, subjected to a boycott, to leave the country are to be found in the absence of raw materials and in the scarcity of food and fuel, as well as in the hardships consequent upon rising prices arising from the unfavorable conditions of foreign exchange.

Initiative in business matters is almost entirely the prerogative of the Jewish population. In Lodz the cotton industry and the development of the town has been effected mostly through the instrumentality of the Jews. Manufactures and business generally have, owing to the circumstances prevailing before and during the war, fallen largely into the hands of Jews. It is impossible to replace such a valuable section of the community by a fresh body of merchants untrained and unaccustomed to handle the important mercantile interests which should, in view of the advantages accruing to Poland under the peace treaty, largely increase in the near future.

The fallacious idea, however, is prevalent in Poland that it is possible to transfer a large percentage of the business carried on by the Jews to other hands. If a Jewish Pole is driven from his factory or business the act does not provide more work for the Christian Pole, but diminishes it. When the question of external trade comes to be considered it is impossible to displace without grave results firms who have built up a business over a long series of years, who are acquainted with, and know the requirements of, their customers in remote countries and have gradually acquired confidence and credit. No new combination, whether Jewish or Christian, could conduct such a business successfully except after long experience. Moreover, I found it to be a fact that the Jewish Pole commands greater trust than his neighbors. To such an extent is this the case in Poland that nearly the whole of the estate agents who act for the Polish nobility are of Jewish race. The real interest of the Polish state would seem to be rather in the direction of developing and encouraging the export business

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hitherto carried on by Jews; in this way lies almost the sole hope of the economic regeneration of Poland and of the rehabilitation of its depreciated currency. In this connection it should be remembered that depreciation of currency as expressed in terms of external values does not arise solely from an adverse trade balance, but that a normal rate of exchange demonstrates also the healthy functioning of stable government and the consequent safety of life and property.

Polish statesmen frequently assert that the proportion of Jewish small tradesmen to the general population is too great. If the complaint were limited to this alone it might safely be left to find its own remedy, for I found that the children of this class were not satisfied to follow the parents' vocation but were endeavoring, by means of attending technical and other schools, to attain a higher educational and social level. This class, however, little above the pauper, ever finds itself driven back upon itself by the economic restraints which it encounters, until at last, in desperation, it is forced to emigrate. I found but few families that had not one member at least in America or Canada. Experience has shown, as in the case of Ireland, that it is always a disadvantage to a country to have an emigration of despairing people, as these sow the seed of their discontent in other lands. A further remedy for this congestion of occupation would be to introduce into Poland new industries, for which Jews in other countries have evinced special aptitude. The difficulty of securing raw material limits the occupations available at the present time, but it would appear quite feasible to start factories for the manufacture of waterproofing, galoshes, furniture, boots, and clothing. Doubtless western Jews would be prepared to assist their brethren to reach a higher plane of industrial development, but unfortunately the Christian Poles, although not undertaking such enterprises to any extent themselves, exhibited distinct hostility to any such suggestion which would benefit both the Jews and the state alike. Many Poles, however, enlarge the demand for a reduction of the number of small Jewish tradesmen to one for the reduction of the Jewish population as a whole. This proposition is fraught with a danger not confined to the Jews; it is a danger to the state. To render the conditions of life so intolerable to the Jew as to force him to leave his native country has ever been followed by disastrous consequences to the country where this form of persecution has been essayed; whereas in every country where the Jew has been granted an effective citizenship he has proved himself a mainstay of law and order. The Jew has usually so much to lose through the consequences of disorder that he ranges himself instinctively on the side of good government. It is for the Poles to choose whether they will follow the example of Great Britain, the United States of America, France, Holland, Italy, and the other liberal-minded states which have treated the Jew equitably, or link their fate with ancient Egypt, medieval Spain, and modern Russia. It must further be considered that when the Jew is driven out his capital is driven out with him. In fact, in most cases it precedes him, for the poor and helpless Jew is not the first to leave in face of economic persecution such as a boycott or the fear of personal safety, but rather he who possesses the means to seek happier conditions of livelihood elsewhere. Thus, at the very time when it is vital to the interest of Poland to import capital, were the suggested policy carried into action it would have for its result the export of capital. In addition, there is the danger that the better minds among non-Jews would not be willing to remain in a country wherein truth and justice are absent.

Another policy appears to have as its object the identification of Jews as Bolsheviki in order to distract public attention from the government. The real danger of bolshevism, however, is to be sought in other directions, although it should not be matter for surprise if some of the younger generation of educated Jews, finding all avenues of advancement and fair play barred, should be found ready to listen to proposals for freedom and equality of opportunity. It is a fair retort that the government policy is making potential revolutionaries of these people. If the Polish government would grant the Jews a genuine and not a masked equality they would secure the support of the most conservative, law-abiding, and loyal section of the population. All the Jews ask is to be allowed to live in peace and safety. By grinding them down by economic differentiation a certain number of these people may be induced to emigrate, but the danger will always remain that a certain residuum will be forced into the ranks of the disaffected and disloyal. The Jew may be robbed, plundered, have his beard cut, and be otherwise insulted for a time, but who can be surprised if a point be reached when men will not tolerate such treatment longer and will be prepared to make the utmost sacrifices to achieve the honor of their manhood?

Under this hard and continued pressure many Jews have been constrained to change their religion, and it is mostly these "Jews" who are meant when Jews are mentioned as being in government employ.

I made careful inquiries in various parts of Poland as to the extent to which bolshevist principles had permeated the Jewish population, and the highest estimate which I encountered was ten per cent of their number, a considerably less proportion, according to my informants, than characterizes the population as a whole. In investigating the truth of the statement that Jews in Poland sympathize with bolshevism, attention must be paid to the fact that Jews form the middle class almost in its entirety. Above are the aristocracy and below are the peasants. Their relations with the peasants are not unsatisfactory. The young peasants cannot read the newspapers and are therefore but slightly contaminated by anti-Semitism until they enter the army. I was informed that it is not at all unusual for Polish peasants to avail themselves of the arbitrament of the Jewish rabbi's courts. Another point to be borne in mind is that a very considerable proportion of the Jews belong to the orthodox form of the religion. If I understand aright, bolshevism stands against both religion and the bourgeoisie; it must therefore be clear from the above statements that by the acceptance of these tenets most of the Polish Jews would but compass their own destruction.

In conclusion, I desire to point out that if the social boycott were successful in securing a large emigration of Jews it would result in a very large decrease in the productive powers of Poland. As the future of the republic depends largely upon its exports exceeding its imports the future of the state itself might be imperiled. The Polish government would be well advised in its own interests that to take immediate and active measures to bring this unsatisfactory condition of affairs to a speedy end would be acting in the best interests of the people committed to its charge.

I now propose to report upon the result of my investigations into the excesses perpetrated in the towns I visited in the order they occurred. Before doing so I would like to remark that as statements that the Jews were enemies of the rest of the population and that all misfortunes were to be ascribed to their influence were constantly circulated, and the Jews formed an easy prey for robbery and plunder, attacks upon them were to be expected. It was, however, the evil example of the military as they entered captured towns which as a rule incited the civil population to join in the pogroms. If the military commanders had but performed their duty to humanity and their office, the loss of life would have been considerably less. Poland, too, would not be burdened with these still unpunished crimes.

Lemberg. With regard to the events in Lemberg on the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd November, 1918, consideration has to be given to the very remarkable position that was to be found in that city at that period, and it is noteworthy upon what a small scale were the operations. Previous to the date mentioned the Ukrainian army consisted of about 10,000 men in occupation of that portion of East Galicia, but General Monczynski raised

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a Polish army, about 1,500 in number, consisting of men, women, boys, some of them criminals, and after a severe struggle succeeded in capturing half the city, the other half of which remained in the occupation of the Ukrainians. The Jewish part of the population of Lemberg declared itself to be neutral. After street fighting of a severe character the Polish forces succeeded in driving the Ukrainians entirely out of the city. This result was achieved through the advent of a considerable body of Polish troops brought under General Roja from Posen. It has been proved to my satisfaction that these troops were promised three days free looting of the Jewish quarter, and I had it in evidence that Jews were warned by Christian friends of the certainty of a pogrom on the days mentioned. The Polish soldiers and population were somewhat incensed by the attitude of the Jews in not having assisted them in their struggle, but nothing can excuse the work of robbery and murder which took place on the days mentioned (21st, 22nd, and 23rd November).

Helena Schine deposed that a body of soldiers came to her house, shot her father, her brother, and her brother-in-law, and would have shot her, but she gave them 3,000 crowns and they went away. The soldiers came again at about 12 o'clock in the day and shot her brother, who was still living, though previously wounded, dead. They broke open the safe and stole the silver plate. Another body of soldiers came to the house about 5 o'clock. She had by then taken refuge on the third floor with a Polish woman, who when the soldiers came the third time sent them away.

Various other witnesses deposed that many buildings were set on fire with petroleum obtained from a store; as the occupants ran out to escape the flames, they were shot down in the street in cold blood by Polish soldiers. The synagogue was burned, the safe being opened by means of machine-gun fire, and the scrolls of the law were burned and everything of value removed. The result of the three days' looting was that fifty-two Jews were killed, 463 wounded, and a large amount of property stolen.

It should be stated that proceedings were taken against General Roja, who was in command of the Posen troops, but he was declared to be suffering from a nervous breakdown.

The Poles alleged that the Jews, while calling themselves neutrals, had shown active sympathy with the Ukrainians, but the evidence given did not, in my opinion, support that contention.

The charge brought against the Jewish militia—a body consisting of 200 men of Jewish race enrolled to defend and keep order in the Jewish quarter—of having fired at the Polish troops has been recently the subject of proceedings in the Polish courts; the charge was dismissed.

In the result none of the military commanders responsible for these events has been punished, and no compensation has been paid for the damage done.

Pinsk. The events at Pinsk on the 5th April, 1919, when thirty-five Jews were shot, took place about ten days after the town had been taken from the Bolsheviki by the Polish army. The Polish command had, a day or two before, suffered a reverse at the hands of the Bolsheviki and were in a state of nervousness as to an attack on the town. It seems that two Polish soldiers, one named Kosak, who is now in prison for robbery, and another soldier, since reported as killed in action, informed the military authorities that they had information that the Jews intended to hold a bolshevist meeting on Saturday in what is known as the People's House, being the headquarters of the Zionists.

The events that followed appear to be so incredible that I think it best to give the evidence of the witnesses. Abraham Feinstein, president of the Zionist Cooperative Society, deposed that about the 28th March he received a letter from the government organizer of cooperative societies, M. Trofimowicz (a non-Jew), stating that it was desirable that all cooperative societies in the town should combine, and giving them up to the 7th April to make their decision. He inclosed the government permission for the meeting to take place. Notices were posted in the streets and in the large synagogues. The meeting took place on Saturday, the 5th April, and there were about 150 persons present, consisting of men and women. The meeting commenced at 5. M. Eisenberg was in the chair. M. Trofimowicz was present at the opening of the meeting and explained its purpose and left at 5.30. It was decided unanimously to combine. A discussion then took place as to how many delegates were to be sent to the combination. That matter was adjourned, and most of the cooperators went home. Mr. Zukerman, an American, had brought 50,000 marks to be distributed for the holy days. Many of those present went into another room to discuss this, and how the money was to be distributed. While this was going on some boys came in and said soldiers were there to take Jews for forced labor. They all went into the large hall. Soldiers were shouting and others were stealing food from the refreshment room. The house consisted of two floors—shops on the ground floor and the club on the first floor. Feinstein went into a friend's shop on the ground floor to take shelter, and later found the whole building surrounded by soldiers, including Kosak. Kosak stopped people and took bribes from them not to take them for forced labor. Feinstein then hid in Gottleib's store on the ground floor, but was discovered and a soldier was left to guard him. He heard a shot upstairs. Gottleib went out to get some water, and came back and said a dead man was lying in the yard. At 10 an under-officer came and said that about fifty arrested people had been shot dead and that his turn would come at 5 o'clock the next morning. At 1.30 a.m. an under-officer and two soldiers came and sent the guarding soldier away. They robbed him and said: "You must go to the Kommandatur, and you will be shot, as all the meeting were Bolsheviki." One soldier, a Polish under-officer, said he could speak Yiddish, and that he was in the synagogue and heard the Jews arrange to act against the Poles, and that he heard a young man say: "We will have a meeting in the People's House at 5." Feinstein stated it was untrue, then the soldier said he would take 150 rubles to let them go, there being six of them in Gottleib's room, and eventually he consented to take 50 rubles. He then found two pocket-books and took 500 rubles and 600 rubles respectively from them. He then said: "You are free." He accompanied Feinstein along the street and he arrived home at 4 a.m.

Saloman Gittelman, a teacher, deposed that he was arrested at the People's House at about 5 o'clock. He was a member of the Cooperative Society and attended the meeting. He heard a shot. Soldiers then came in and said "Why have you shot at us?" and ordered all to stand with hands up. They were all searched and beaten. No arms were found. The soldiers ordered all out, surrounded them, and took them to the Kommandatur. They were severely beaten on the way. An army doctor named Bakraba stopped them on the way and inquired what it all meant, and the soldiers replied that the Jews had shot at soldiers. A soldier stepped up and said that they had shot at him and wounded him in the head. The doctor replied: "All these Jews ought to be shot." They arrived at the Kommandatur, were stood out in the street, and were all robbed. There were several officers present. There was no trial. Soldiers came back from the Kommandatur and they were taken to the market-place. They murdered about sixty. Each was placed against the wall. It was extremely dark, and soldiers came with a motor bearing a searchlight. An officer came and looked into everyone's face, and some were removed, including the women. The remainder were then informed that their last moment had come, and they could say their prayers. They then, with the lead of the teacher, uttered in a loud voice their last prayers for the dying (I may mention that these so-called Bolsheviki, who profess a negation of religion, uttered their last prayers in such a loud voice that they could be heard right across the market-place). The officer then commanded the soldiers to shoot. The figures against the wall fell, after which the soldiers came and shot those who moved on the

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ground. The remainder, who had been put on one side, were then taken to prison at 10 o'clock. There had been no trial and no word whatever said to them previous to the shooting. Nothing to eat was given. Seventeen men were placed in one room, and at 11.30 three men were brought in. They said that the man Glauberman had been shot, but not at the wall. I have arrived at the conclusion that the shot heard by those in the club was one fired at random by a soldier outside to give color to the charge that the soldiers had been fired upon, and unfortunately it killed Glauberman, who was hiding in a shed underneath the stairs leading up to the club. I was shown the hole made by the bullet. No arms were found in the possession of these alleged Bolsheviki.

Next morning an under-officer came and took their names, and said: "We will show you what has become of your friends." Nineteen of them were taken to the cemetery by a gendarme and some soldiers. They were shown a freshly filled-in grave. They were given shovels and told to reopen the grave. This done, they were placed together in a row. Soldiers arrived and were placed in front of them with rifles leveled at them. The gendarme said to the soldiers: "Are you ready?" One of the prisoners, an elderly teacher, then prayed in a loud voice as follows: "O Lord, forgive thy servants. Thou art powerful to save even now." The words were no sooner out of his mouth than an elderly gendarme came to the gendarme in command and whispered something to him. He ordered the prisoners to fill up the grave again, and they were taken to the prison, and eventually Gittelman was sent home. Two of those shot were teachers, colleagues of his for twenty years. It appears that Miss Rabinovitch, who gave evidence later, had intervened on their behalf.

Aaron Rubin, an elderly manager of a match factory, deposed that he was present at the cooperative meeting. He stated that the soldiers in the large room searched the people and beat them. One man had 11,500 rubles in his possession, which was stolen from him. He shouted that he had been robbed of this amount. A soldier then went downstairs, and shortly came back and said: "Who has shot?" Rubin generally confirmed the previous witness's evidence. He was one of those taken from the wall and taken to the cemetery. In the cemetery the soldiers loaded their rifles and said their last moment had come. After they had returned to the prison, a gendarme interviewed them and endeavored to get a confession from them. Each one was taken separately in a separate room, stripped, and beaten with straps and ramrods. They were then all put together in one room half dead from flogging. This included six women. They were told to put on their clothes and return to their cells. On Tuesday a gendarme came and said that if there were an inquiry they must say that they had not been beaten. On Wednesday he was released by doctor's orders.

A young lady who desired her name not published, aged about 25, deposed that she went to the People's House to inquire as to whether she was to participate in the American money. Soldiers came in and began to eat food they found in a cupboard. They were seeking young Jews for forced labor. An elderly officer came and said they were all to go into the large room. They searched the people, and the first man searched had over 10,000 rubles. In her opinion all that followed was to cover the robbery. She confirmed the statement that they were all taken outside the Kommandatur. She confirmed the interview with Dr. Bakraba, but added that Dr. Bakraba himself beat a girl named Eisenberg. No question was put to them. They remained in the street. They expected they would be brought into the Kommandatur but were not, and remained in the street. A passer-by named Krasalstchik, who was walking on the pavement with a Miss Polak, was taken by the soldiers and included with the prisoners, and eventually shot. They were then all taken to the market-place and put against the wall of the church. All was dark. She saw some of the women led away a short distance, so she walked out of the line too. All those remaining at the wall were given time to say their last words. A teacher chanted the last Jewish prayers for the dying, and the others repeated them after him. They were then shot dead. The survivors were told their time would come on the morrow, and that they would be hanged. From the wall they were led to the prison. The women were in a separate room. The Polish guard treated them very badly, but the governor of the prison treated them kindly. The warders said they would be shot. A gendarme came later and they were all led to a room, stripped naked, revolvers put to their heads, and flogged. They were then turned out of the room naked with their clothes in their hands into a corridor full of soldiers, who kicked and struck them. They were then sent into another room where they dressed and were allowed to go free.

M. Abrahamovitch gave evidence that he heard a noise, was frightened, and hid in the roof of the synagogue on the other side of the market-place. At a quarter to 9 in the evening of Saturday he heard firing and groans that lasted all night, and soldiers laughing. One of the men, Palatzny, was shot and only slightly wounded; at 5.30 on the morning of the 6th April he got up and ran away. He was observed by the soldiers and shot dead.

Sonia Rabinovitch, a girl student from Kiev, was staying at Pinsk with her father. Polish officers lived at her father's house, and she was able to intervene to save the people at the cemetery. (I have no doubt that the eventual release of these people was the direct consequence of the arrival of an American officer who began to make inquiries.)

An official statement relative to these events issued on the 7th April by General Listovski, commander of the group, I find devoid of all credence.

The treatment meted out to these so-called Jewish Bolsheviki is in contrast to the treatment of avowedly bolshevist Poles. M. Gabryl Kiewicz was commissary for the town, a post corresponding to mayor, during the Bolshevist occupation, and he is now a paid official in the election office. M. Melech, who was administrator of the Food Department for the Bolsheviki, is now employed in the municipal administration.

In conversation with local Christian Poles the mission was informed that the town was heartily ashamed of this dreadful tragedy, and believed that the people massacred were quite innocent.

In conclusion, I may state that Major Luczynski and Lieutenant Landsberg, who were in command on the occasion mentioned, in no way have been punished. They have simply been removed to other posts. I have endeavored unsuccessfully to see Major Luczynski.

Under the present local administration Pinsk is once more peaceful, and the relations between the Christian and the non-Christian inhabitants have become normal.

Lida. On the 16th April, 1919, the Poles attacked the Bolshevist troops occupying Lida, this being the second day of the Jewish Passover. The Jews were frightened and there were only ten Jews in the synagogue, the rest remaining in their houses. It was proved to my satisfaction that on the 16th the Bolsheviki ordered all their soldiers to leave their billets and return to barracks. This they refused to do, and when the Polish troops entered the town, they shot at them from the windows of the houses. This was in the poorer Jewish quarter, because most of the best houses were taken possession of by officers, leaving the less desirable houses to be occupied by their men. Consequently when the Polish troops eventually entered the town on the morning of the 17th they attacked the Jewish quarter, killing on the two days, the 16th and the 17th, thirty-five Jews. The case of the man Poukoff and his son, who were first robbed of 150,000 rubles and then taken out into the street and shot without trial, was a particularly bad case. In fact, the bulk of the people killed were either murdered in their houses or shot outside them. On the 19th only there was a court-martial, when six Jews and two Christians were sentenced to be shot. On the 17th 200 Jews were arrested in the Jewish quarter,

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but were released without any trial after five days. The rabbi of the place, Rabbi Rabbinovich, was arrested, robbed, and beaten, together with many other Jews. On the 18th a body of a soldier was found mutilated, and the Jews were accused of having murdered him; this caused great excitement in the town. It was said that a Catholic priest intervened, and asked in church that anyone who knew anything of the case should inform him. Later the excitement died down, and the rumor was spread that the priest had interfered to say that the murderer was not a Jew. The priest referred to had left Lida, and I was unable to obtain confirmation of this story, but believe it to be true.

Vilna was taken from the Bolsheviki on the 19th April, 1919, by Polish troops. The rumor was spread that the Jews had shot at the Polish soldiers, whereupon soldiers and civilians commenced a massacre and robbery of the Jews which lasted three days. Fifty-five Jews were killed, including two well-known authors, MM. Weiter and Ivianski, a large number were wounded, and 2,000 arrested as sympathizers with the Bolsheviki. Of these 1,000 were released upon guaranties being given, and the remainder were removed to internment camps under conditions of the greatest hardship. Most of these poor people have been kept in these unsanitary and loathsome camps, suffering hunger and frequent beatings, without trial, and had not been released at the time of the mission's visit in November. Among those arrested for having shot at the Polish soldiers were the Rev. I. Rubinstein, one of the principal rabbis, and Dr. Shabad, the head of the community. I may add that the 19th April was a Saturday, when, being the Jewish Sabbath, a rabbi would be most unlikely to carry or use firearms. Nevertheless, these gentlemen were marched by soldiers through the streets, beaten and spat upon not only by the mob, but also by well-dressed ladies and gentlemen, till they reached a garden where they were informed that they were about to be shot. After a detention during which they expected every minute to be their last, these gentlemen eventually were released through the intervention of an officer and sent home. The killing and plundering lasted for three days, many houses being completely looted and the synagogue desecrated, in spite of the presence in the city of General Joseph Pilsudski, the chief of the state. Officers stated publicly that they regarded all the Vilna Jews as enemies and sympathizers with Bolsheviki. A certain number of Jews, owing to their better education, undoubtedly acted as officials during the Bolshevist regime. But the fact of Christian Poles acting in a similar manner does not seem to have aroused resentment. My attention was called to several instances where former Bolshevist officials still occupied public offices. M. Solimani was on the Economic Council of the Bolsheviki, and at the time of the mission's visit was in the Agricultural Department; but is now a Polish railway official. M. Jachimoricz, of the Bolshevist Economic Department, is now secretary to the municipality of Vilna. The Jews do not appear, however, to have supported the Bolsheviki in a military sense. The Bolsheviki publicly complained that only 1 per cent of their army were Jews. With regard to the alleged shooting by Jews upon Polish troops, M. Zmaczynski, president of the court of the province, and M. Buyko, vice-president of the court, both gentlemen of high character, informed the mission that they had seen Jewish men and women (civilians) firing for two hours in Populanki and Alexandrovska Boulevard.

Further, there was submitted for my inspection an official copy of a declaration purporting to be signed by four members of the Danish Legation, Section B, at Petrograd, to the effect that on the 19th April at the Vilna railway station, they had been witnesses of a fusilade directed by the Jewish civil population against the Polish troops. With regard to this statement, the Danish Legation at Warsaw was kind enough to make some inquiry at the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Danish Government in reply communicated to His Majesty's Government the following declaration by the former Danish Minister at Petrograd:

"I have the honor to state that two of the signatories of the document in question, Sachsenburg and Ernst, both Austrians, were at one time employed in Section B at the Danish Legation, the former in the Passport Office, the latter as a copying clerk. Dr. Klein I do not recall. As stated in this Legation's report No. 221 of the 6th December last, there has never been any Danish Mission at Vilna or Warsaw, and when the individuals concerned state, in a document dated Warsaw, the 25th April, 1919, that they are members of the Royal Danish Legation, this allegation must be regarded as entirely unjustifiable and deserves to be repudiated. It would lead very far if all persons who at any time have been employed in Section B were to be entitled for the rest of their lives to describe themselves as 'members of the Royal Danish Legation.' The declaration is, as far as I can judge, perfectly authentic."

If Jewish civilians actually did fire upon Polish soldiers—and I found it impossible to distinguish between the type of Jew prevailing in the Vilna-Pinsk district and that of the ordinary Russian or Tartar inhabitants—the fact cannot justify the whole civilian population being handed over defenceless to massacre and rapine. I regret to state that no official investigation has been made into these outrages and no one punished.

The excesses reported from Cracow and Lodz took the form of local riots arising from transient causes. Though considerable property was destroyed and plundered and many Jews seriously assaulted both by soldiers and civilians, there was no actual loss of life except that of one man—although that is one too many—at the latter place. I am of opinion that the affair at Lodz might have attained considerably less proportions if, when the police proved unequal to quell the disturbance, the military authorities had acted with greater promptitude.

A young man, Selig Lipman, a survivor of an attack on a farm at Slobodka Lesna, made the following declaration before me at Warsaw:

"In peace time the farm was an agricultural college, and there were between sixty and seventy students. It is an estate belonging to the Jewish Colonial Association situated near the village of Lesna. The students were being prepared for agricultural work in Palestine. There are two houses on the farm; one the house of the director and the other where the pupils were housed. At the time of the following events there were at the college thirteen boy and four girl students.

"On the 6th June, 1919, the army of General Zeligowsky was marching from Russia through Rumania to Poland.

"The farm is situated near the main road, and the students were engaged at their usual occupations when some of the artillery of this army and about 200 cavalry halted not far from the farm. Pickets were placed at the two entrances to the farm.

"An officer, a corporal, and some soldiers came to the director's house. A cart was in front of the house loaded with grain. The soldiers took five sacks. A portion of the picket meanwhile surrounded the students' house. They proceeded to whip the students. I myself was not in the house, as I was engaged in getting some cows out of the stable. I understand the soldiers asked the students if they were Polish. They replied: No, they were Jews. Whereupon the soldiers began to beat them with swords. One of the boys, while being beaten, put up his hand to protect himself, and had his hand badly wounded by a sword. He then attempted to escape, but was unable to do so as he was followed by mounted soldiers. So he threw himself flat on the ground and they rode over him. He then sought refuge in a distillery.

"The rest of the boys were driven into the blacksmith's foundry. The soldiers then shot dead three of them. Samuel Presser, aged 19, was killed instantaneously. Joseph Ball, aged 18, and Zevi Rothenburg, aged 18, died shortly after.

"Subsequently the soldiers went to the distillery where the boy, Jacob Wilf, had taken refuge and shot him three times. He was not mortally wounded and has since recovered.

"Ball, who was still living, was removed by two girl students

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to their room. This was discovered by the soldiers, who went there and shot him dead through the head. Rothenburg, already dead, had his throat cut by the soldiers.

"The girls then hid themselves, and not being discovered were not molested.

"The whole of the proceedings only lasted half-an-hour. When I returned from the stables the whole business had finished. As soon as the soldiers came to the house I was ordered by the director to get the cows into the meadow, and so was not present when the above events took place.

"The soldiers asked the director if he was a Jew, and he stated that he was a Czech, and was therefore not molested.

"On the previous night these same soldiers killed a Jewish family of six people; a Ruthenian peasant (non-Jewish) was taken into a forest and shot, and another Ruthenian peasant flogged and beaten.

"(Signed) SELIG LIPMAN."

Having dealt with these excesses in detail, I will now proceed to consider them as a whole.

It is very difficult to ascertain the number of lives lost through these painful occurrences, but, taking the lowest figure in cases of doubt, the total cannot be less than 348. These figures, terrible though they be, fail to convey an impression of the terrible condition of apprehension and anxiety under which the Jews labor. The military authorities, under the pretext of military necessity, arbitrarily took Jews, but rarely Christians, for forced labor. There was seldom any necessary labor to be performed, and on most occasions upon payment of a bribe these men were released. In one town, Bobrojuisk, Jews were taken from the synagogue on the Day of Atonement and forced to remove dung from the military stables and streets. Even old men were forced to do this work. At Lemberg Jews were taken for forced labor at any time of the night. In order to avoid this the Jewish Relief Committee undertook to provide laborers. They paid nearly three million crowns in bribery, but Jews were still taken and sent back, as there was no work for them to do, though at that same time still more Jews were being taken in the streets for forced labor.

Unfortunately their distinctive dress and mien, and their practice of not cutting the beard, in accordance with the Biblical precept, render them easy butts for hooligan humor. My attention was directed to numerous cases of Jews being assaulted and robbed in railway trains, and their beards cut at railway stations, nearly all these outrages being perpetrated by soldiers traveling on the railway. The railway authorities appear to have been both unwilling and unable to restrain these excesses. In no instance was I able to ascertain that any punishment followed the offense.

I noticed in several towns, more especially in Warsaw, that the streets in the Jewish quarter were left uncleaned and were in a state of worse repair than other parts of the city. It does not appear to be recognized that a sanitary danger to a portion of the community involves sanitary danger to the whole.

On several occasions the resentment of the soldiery and civil population was aroused by the Zionists' claim to Jewish nationality as opposed to Polish nationality. The same claim was declared to me by government officials to be the reason for the non-admission of Jews into the post-office and other government offices, but no evidence was adduced to me that Jews not so declaring themselves of separate nationality were able to secure appointments.

A serious feature of the situation is the fact that it is very difficult for the Jews to obtain redress and restitution. Although nominally every citizen is free to approach the government, actually representations produce no result.

At present the Jews are considerably under-represented in the Polish parliament (Sejm), having only 11 out of 390 seats. This is largely owing to the manner in which the boundaries of the present constituencies are drawn. Until they secure a representation of about forty members, which is about their proportion of the general population, it will be difficult for them to make any appreciable impression upon public opinion. Most of the requests made to the Polish government appear to be met with the reply that the Jews have their privileges in accordance with their numerical proportion to the rest of the population. While this rejoinder is apparently frank and just, it is nevertheless specious; the Jews, as in most other parts of the world, have specialized in definite occupations. To answer their complaints, when their own representative industries are attacked, to the effect that they have their proper proportion of privileges, appears to be a refinement of casuistry. I feel, however, that the government eventually will be able to make its sobering influence more directly felt by the general population; meanwhile the Jews must have patience in order to give time for this to become effective. . . .

I consider that the bare recital of these terrible events is enough to reveal how insecure are Jewish life and property in Poland, and how easily—if the evil causes at work be not speedily removed—excesses may break out again, possibly upon a far more serious scale.

Many countries have been affected by temporary waves of anti-Semitism. The movement has been somewhat accentuated in Poland at the present time owing to war, famine, and the difficult political position. Poles generally are of a generous nature, and if the present incitements of the press were repressed by a strong official hand Jews would be able to live, as they have done for the past 800 years, on good terms with their fellow citizens in Poland.

In the hope of assisting this desirable consummation I have the honor to submit the following recommendations for the consideration of His Majesty's Government. I would draw your attention to the fact that I have not embodied in this report any matters which I was not able to investigate personally during the stay of the mission in Poland:

Recommendations.

1. That the Polish government be urged to carry out the clauses of the Minority Treaty of June 28, 1919, in a spirit of sympathy with its Jewish subjects. A state can only be strong when all sections of its inhabitants are working unitedly and in mutual confidence for its welfare.

2. That a genuine and not a "masked" equality be accorded to the Jewish population of Poland.

3. That all outrages against the person or property of the subject, irrespective of religion or race, should be promptly punished and the names of the delinquents published. This latter action is especially necessary, inasmuch as the state does not punish out of revenge but as a deterrent to others.

4. That Jews in East Galicia be restored to their official positions in the same manner as non-Jews have been.

5. That Jewish railway officials and employees be restored to their posts in the same manner as non-Jews have been.

6. That no restrictions should be placed upon the number of Jews admitted to the universities.

7. That a decree be published declaring boycotts illegal, and ordering all publications advocating boycott to be suspended.

8. That all prisoners in internment camps be brought to immediate trial, and that humane treatment be assured to all interned prisoners.

9. That facilities be afforded for the introduction of new industries into Poland with a view to converting a larger proportion of the Jewish population into producers.

10. That the British government should assist Jews wishing to emigrate from Poland by providing facilities to proceed to countries such as Palestine, Canada, South Africa, Algeria, and South America, or any other country desiring to receive them.

11. That banks be established possessing the confidence of the Jewish public, so that money might be deposited therein instead of being carried on the person or concealed in dwellings.

12. That the desirability of a secretary who understands and speaks Yiddish being added to the staff of His Majesty's Legation at Warsaw be considered. . . .

STUART M. SAMUEL.

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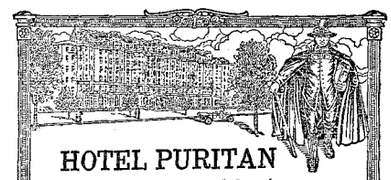

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